

**BEYOND THE ARGO-POLIS.
A SOCIAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE
ARGOLID IN THE 6TH AND EARLY 5TH
CENTURIES BCE**

VOLUME 2

KIMBERLY BEAUFILS

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Table of Contents

VOLUME 2

Transliteration of Greek Names.....	345
Appendix A.....	346
Site Catalogue	346
SITE INDEX.....	347
SITE INDEX IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER	349
SITE INDEX IN GREEK.....	351
SITE INDEX FOR ARGOS.....	353
SITE INDEX FOR ARGOS IN GREEK.....	355
A. THE ARGEIA.....	357
A.I.A. THE ARGIVE PLAIN: WEST OF, AND INCLUDING, ARGOS	358
Dhouka(s) A-1	359
Oinoe (Merkouri) A-2	360
Hysiai (Akhladhókambos) A-3	362
Skhinokhóri A-4.....	363
Kefalári A-5	364
Skafidhaki A-6	365
Elaious (Spiliotáki) A-7	366
Magoúla (near Kefálari) A-8.....	367
Lerna (near Mýloi) A-9.....	368
Argos (Árgos) A-10	370
A.I.B. THE ARGIVE PLAIN: EAST OF ARGOS	420
Mykenai (Mykínes) A-11.....	421
Kourtáki A-12	431
The Heraion (Iráion) A-13	432
Prosymna (Iráion) A-14	439
Khónikas (Néo Iraío) A-15	443
Tiryns (Tíryns) A-16.....	444
Nauplia (Náplio) A-17.....	448
Aria (Ária) A-18	449
Berbatí (Prósymna or Prósymni) A-19.....	450
Midea (Midhéa) A-20	461
Lefkáki A-21	463
Asine (Asíni) A-22.....	464
Áyios Adhrianós (Profitis Ilías) A-23	471
Limnés A-24.....	473
B. THE AKTE	474
B.II. THE REGION OF EPIDAURIA	475
Áyios Ilías (Mt. Arakhnaío) A-25	476
Íria A-26.....	479
Lessa ? (Ligourió) A-27	480
Epidauros Sanctuaries A-28.....	481
Gyftókastro A-29	485
Hyrnithion (Yrníthion) A-30.....	486
Epidauros (Palaiá Epídhavros) A-31.....	487
B.III.A. THE SOUTHERN ARGOLID: THE REGION OF HALIEIS.....	489
Dhoroufi (Dhouroufi) Ridge A-32	490
Áyios Ioánnis Kartéris A-33	491
Vista A-34.....	492
Áyios Ioánnis A-35	493
Mases (Koiládha Bay) A-36.....	494
Fránkhthi A-37	496

Halieis (Portokhéli) A-38.....	497
Loutró A-39.....	509
Kastráki A-40.....	510
Stavrós A-41.....	511
Flámboura A-42.....	512
Kástro A-43.....	514
Ákra (Ai)milianós (Metókhi) A-44.....	515
B.III.B. THE SOUTHERN ARGOLID: THE REGION OF HERMIONE.....	516
Didymoi Cave (Dhídhyma) A-45.....	517
Fóurnoi A-46.....	518
Petrothálassa or Thalassópetra A-47.....	520
Katafíki Gorge A-48.....	521
Mt. Kokkýgion (Profitis Ilías) A-49.....	522
Hermione (Ermióni) A-50.....	523
Eileoi (Iliókastro) A-51.....	527
Thermisí Kástro A-52.....	530
Koufó A-53.....	531
B.VI.A. THE REGION OF TROIZENIA: THE MAINLAND.....	532
Fóusia A-54.....	533
Psifti A-55.....	534
Troizen (Troízina or Dhamalás) A-56.....	535
Pogon (Vídhi) A-57.....	539
Eñones ? (Sambríza Magóula or Pigádhia) A- 58.....	540
Galatás A-59.....	541
Lazarétto A-60.....	542
B.VI.B. THE REGION OF TROIZENIA: THE METHANA PENINSULA.....	543
Magóula A-61.....	544
Makróngru A-62.....	545
Methana (Megalokhório-Palaiokástro) A-63.....	546
Kounoupítsa A-64.....	547
Throni A-65.....	548
Áyios Konstantínos A-66.....	549
Góuri-Gljáti A-67.....	550
Óga A-68.....	551
B.VI.C. THE REGION OF TROIZENIA: THE ISLAND OF HYDREA.....	553
Khoriza (Ýdhra) A-69.....	554
B.VI.D. THE REGION OF TROIZENIA: THE ISLAND OF POROS.....	555
Kalaureia (Póros) A-70.....	556
Appendix B.....	558
A Postscript to Mining: The Metal Objects.....	558
Appendix C.....	567
The Location of Sanctuaries Whose Divinities have been Identified.....	567
URBAN SANCTUARIES.....	567
Sanctuaries on Akropoleis.....	567
Sanctuaries on the Slopes of Akropoleis.....	572
Sanctuaries in the <i>Agora</i>	574
Urban Sanctuaries on Roads in Towns.....	578
Urban Sanctuaries on the Sea.....	578
SUBURBAN SANCTUARIES.....	580
Extramural Sanctuaries near Town Gates.....	580
Extramural Sanctuaries on the Slopes of Hills.....	582
EXTRAURBAN OR RURAL SANCTUARIES.....	584
Extraurban Sanctuaries on Roads.....	584
Extraurban Sanctuaries on Roads near Bronze Age Tombs.....	586
Extraurban Sanctuaries on Mountain Tops.....	587
Extraurban Sanctuaries at Boundaries.....	592
Extraurban Sanctuaries in Marshes.....	595
Extraurban Sanctuaries on the Sea.....	595

Σ

Appendix D.....596
Greek Texts.....596
Figures.....607

Transliteration of Greek Names

In the appendices I have altered slightly some modern Greek letters (see γκ, ξ, and μπ) in transliteration to make them sound more like the original Greek.

I transliterate terms using the following convention:

α	a
(αυ	af or av)
β	v
γ	g or y
(γγ	ng,
γκ	gk)
(γξ	nx,
γχ	nh)
δ	dh
ε	e
(ευ	ef or ev)
ζ	z
η	i or e
θ	th
ι	i
κ	k
λ	l
μ	m
(μπ	b or mb)
ν	n
(ντ	d or nt)
ξ	x or ks
ο	o
π	p
ρ	r
σ,ς	s
τ	t
υ	y or i
φ	f
χ	kh or h
ψ	ps
ω	o

Appendix A

Site Catalogue

*There are many things that we would throw away,
If we were not afraid that others might pick them up.
Oscar Wilde, The Picture of Dorian Gray.*

The divisions of the Argolid into the Argeia and the Akte follow those of Faraklas (1972a, 1972b, 1973), but boundaries and areas are, inevitably, rather arbitrary. I have divided the Argeia into sites west of, and including, Argos belonging to the modern Eparkhía Árgous, and those east of Argos belonging to the modern Eparkhía Nafplías. The Akte has three natural geographical units that today form separate administrative districts (Eparkhía-ies): the regions of Epidauria, Hermionis, and Troizenia. The Epidauria is now combined with the south-eastern corner of the Argive plain and the town of Nafplío (Eparkhía Nafplías and Eparkhía Ermionídhos). The Hermionis, which is henceforth called the Southern Argolid, is in the present Eparkhía Ermionídhos. I have divided it between the territories of the cities of Hermione and Halieis. The Troizenia (Eparkhía Troizinías) belongs to the Nomós Attíkis and comprises the north-east mainland, the peninsula of Méthana, and the islands of Póros (ancient Kalaureia) and Ýdhra (ancient Hydrea).

Within each land division I have numbered the sites moving from west to east. An alphabetical index of sites appears below the table of contents. Sites within Argos have been further subdivided numerically according to their location on the map of Argos. Here I include seventh century material only when the site was also used during the sixth century; for those sites that are exclusively dated to the seventh century, one must consult Foley (1988). An alphabetical index of the excavated plots in Argos is also provided. Whenever possible, I give the ancient place name first, followed by the modern place name (transliterated from the Greek and accented). For personal names, especially those of plot owners, I have simply anglicised the word according to its pronunciation in Greek, leaving out the accent, since accents for personal names vary enormously.

Site Index

THE ARGEIA

The Argive Plain: West of, and including, Argos

A-1	Dhoúka(s)
A-2	Oinoe (Merkoúri)
A-3	Hysiai (Akhladhókambos)
A-4	Skhinokhóri
A-5	Kefálari
A-6	Skafidháki
A-7	Elaious (Spiliotáki)
A-8	Magoúla (near Kefálari)
A-9	Lerna (near Mýloi)
A-10	Argos (Árgos)

The Argive Plain: East of Argos

A-11	Mykenai (Mykínai)
A-12	Kourtáki
A-13	The Heraion (Iraío)
A-14	Prosymna (Iraío)
A-15	Khónikas
A-16	Tiryns (Tírintha)
A-17	Nauplia (Náfplio)
A-18	Aria (Ária)
A-19	Berbatí (Prósymna or Prósymni)
A-20	Midea (Midhéa)
A-21	Lefkákia
A-22	Asine (Asíni coast)
A-23	Áyios Adhrianós (Profitis Ilías)
A-24	Limnés

THE ATKE

The Region of Epidauria

A-25	Áyios Ilías (Mt. Arakhnaío)
A-26	Íria
A-27	Lessa ? (Ligourió)
A-28	Epidauros Sanctuaries (Ierón Asklípiou + Náos Apóllonos)
A-29	Gyftókastro
A-30	Hyrnithion (Yrníthion)
A-31	Epidauros (Palaiá Epídhavros)

The Southern Argolid: The Region of Halieis

A-32	Dhoroúfi (Dhourouúfi) Ridge
A-33	Áyios Ioánnis Kartéris

A-34	Vísta
A-35	Áyios Ioánnis
A-36	Mases (Koíládha Bay)
A-37	Fránkhthi
A-38	Halieis (Portokhéli)
A-39	Loutró
A-40	Kastráki
A-41	Stavrós
A-42	Flámboura
A-43	Kástro
A-44	Ákra (Ai)milianós (Metókhi)

The Southern Argolid: The Region of Hermione

A-45	Didymoi Cave (Dhídhyma)
A-46	Fóurnoi
A-47	Petrothálassa or Thalassópetra
A-48	Katafiki Gorge
A-49	Mt. Kokkýgion (Profitis Ilías)
A-50	Hermione (Ermióni)
A-51	Eileoi (Iliókastro)
A-52	Thermisí Kástro
A-53	Koufó

The Region of Troizenia: The Mainland

A-54	Fóusia
A-55	Psiftí
A-56	Troizen (Troízina or Dhamála)
A-57	Pogon (Vídhi)
A-58	Eïones ? (Sambaríza Magoúla or Pigádhia)
A-59	Galatás
A-60	Lazarétto

The Region of Troizenia: The Methana (Methána) Peninsula

A-61	Magoúla (Áyios Nikólaos)
A-62	Makróngrou (Kaiméni Khóra)
A-63	Methana (Megalokhório-Palaiokástro)
A-64	Kounoupítsa
A-65	Throní
A-66	Áyios Konstantínos
A-67	Góuri-Gljáti (Kypséli)
A-68	Óga (Kypséli)

The Region of Troizenia: The Island of Hydrea (Ýdhra)

A-69	Khoríza (Episkopí)
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The Region of Troizenia: The Island of Kalaureia (Póros)

A-70	Kalaureia (Póros)
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Site Index in Alphabetical Order

Ákra (Ai)milianós (Metóghi)	A-44
Argos (Árgos)	A-10
Aria (Ária)	A-18
Asine (Asíni coast)	A-22
Áyios Adhrianós (Profitis Ilías)	A-23
Áyios Ilías (Mt. Arakhnaío)	A-25
Áyios Ioánnis	A-35
Áyios Ioánnis Kartéris	A-33
Áyios Konstantínos	A-66
Berbatí (Prósymna or Prósymni)	A-19
Dhoróufi (Dhouróufi) Ridge	A-32
Dhouka(s)	A-1
Didymoi Cave (Dhídhyma)	A-45
Eileoi (Iliókastro)	A-51
Eïones ? (Sambaríza Magoúla or Pigádhia)	A-58
Elaious (Spiliotáki)	A-7
Epidauros (Palaiá Epídhavros)	A-31
Epidauros Sanctuaries	A-28
Flámboura	A-42
Fóurnoi	A-46
Fóusia	A-54
Fránkhthi	A-37
Galatás	A-59
Góuri-Gljáti (Kypséli)	A-67
Gyftócastro	A-29
Halieis (Portokhéli)	A-38
The Heraion (Iraío)	A-13
Hermione (Ermióni)	A-50
Hydrea (see Khoríza on Ýdhra)	
Hyrnithion (Yrníthion)	A-30
Hysiai (Akhladhókambos)	A-3
Íria	A-26
Kalaureia (Póros)	A-70
Kastráki	A-40
Kástro	A-43
Katafíki Gorge	A-48
Kefalári	A-5
Khónikas	A-15
Khoríza (Episkopí)	A-69
Koufó	A-53
Kounoupítsa	A-64
Kourtáki	A-12
Lazarétto	A-60
Lefkákia	A-21
Lerna (Mýloi)	A-9



Lessa ? (Ligourió)	A-27
Limnés	A-24
Loutró	A-39
Magoúla (near Kefálari)	A-8
Magoúla (Áyios Nikólaos)	A-61
Makróngrou (Kaiméni Khóra)	A-62
Mases (Koiládha Bay)	A-36
Methana (Megalokhório-Palaiokástro)	A-63
Midea (Midhéa)	A-20
Mt. Kokkýgion (Profitis Ilías)	A-49
Mykenai (Mykínai)	A-11
Nauplia (Náfplio)	A-17
Óga (Kypséli)	A-68
Oinoe (Merkoúri)	A-2
Petrothálassa or Thalassópetra	A-47
Pogon (Vídhi)	A-57
Prosymna (Iraío)	A-14
Psiftí	A-55
Skafidháki	A-6
Skhinokhóri	A-4
Stavrós	A-41
Thermisí Kástro	A-52
Throní	A-65
Tiryns (Tírintha)	A-16
Troizen (Troízina or Dhamála)	A-56
Vísta	A-34

Site Index in Greek

Άγιος Αδριανός (Προφήτης Ηλίας)	A-23
Άγιος Ηλίας (Αραχναίον)	A-25
Άγιος Ιωάννης	A-35
Άγιος Ιωάννης Καρτέρης	A-33
Άγιος Κωσταντίνος	A-66
Άγιος Νικόλαος	A-61
Άκρ. Αιμιλιανός (Μετόχι)	A-44
Αλιείς (Πορτοχέλιον)	A-38
Άργος	A-10
Άρια	A-18
Ασίνη (Παραλία Ασίνης)	A-22
Αχλαδόκαμπος	A-3
Βίστα	A-34
Βύδιον	A-57
Γαλατάς	A-59
Γυφτόκαστρο	A-29
Δίδυμα	A-45
Δορούφι	A-32
Δούκας	A-1
Επίδαυρος (Παλαιά Επίδαυρος)	A-31
Επισκοπή	A-69
Ερμιόνη	A-50
Ηλιόκαστρον	A-51
Ηραίον	A-13/14
Θερμησία (Κάστρον)	A-52
Θρονί	A-65
Ιερόν Ασκληπιού + Ναός Απόλλωνος	A-28
Ίρια	A-26
Καημένη Χώρα	A-62
Καλαύρια (Πόρος)	A-70
Καστράκι	A-40
Κάστρο	A-43
Καταφίκι	A-48
Κεφαλάριον	A-5
Κοκκύγιον (Προφήτης Ηλίας)	A-49
Κουφό	A-53
Κουνουπίτσα	A-64
Κουρτάκιον	A-12
Κυψέλι	A-67/68
Λαζαρέττο	A-60
Λέρνη (Μύλοι)	A-9
Λευκάκια	A-21
Λιμναί	A-24
Λουτρό	A-39
Λυγούριον	A-27

Μαγούλα	A-8
Μάσης (Ορμ. Κοιλάδος)	A-36
Μεγαλοχώριον	A-63
Μερκούριον	A-2
Μιδέα (Παλαιόκαστρον)	A-20
Μυκήναι	A-11
Νάυπλιον	A-17
Πετροθάλασσα	A-48
Πηγάδια	A-58
Πρόσυμνα	A-19
Σκαφιδάκιον	A-6
Σπηλιωτάκης	A-7
Σταυρός	A-41
Σχινοχώριον	A-4
Τίρυνς	A-16
Τροιζήν	A-56
Υρνήθιον	A-30
Φλάμπουρο	A-42
Φούρνοι	A-46
Φούσια	A-54
Φράγχθη	A-37
Ψήφτα	A-55
Χώνικας	A-15

Site Index for Argos

<i>Agora</i>	A-10-65
<i>Agora</i> : Hypostyle Hall	A-10-66
<i>Agora</i> : Inside Hypostyle Hall	A-10-67
<i>Agora</i> : Stoa	A-10-68
Anagnostopoulos Plot: Odhós Kofiniótou	A-10-47
Aphrodision: South Quarter	A-10-64
Aphrodision (South of): Odhós Ayíou Yeoryíou	A-10-49
‘Aspis’ or Profitis Ilías: North Slope	A-10-7
‘Aspis’ or Profitis Ilías: South-west Slope	A-10-8
‘Aspis’ or Profitis Ilías: South Sector	A-10-9
Athanasopoulou Plot: Párodhos Goúnari 7	A-10-23
Atréos (Odhós)	A-10-84
Ayía Sotíra	A-10-54
Bakaloyiannis Plot: South of Baths	A-10-55
Baths Area	A-10-41
Bertzeletos Plot: Odhós Vas. Sofías 25	A-10-30
Blatsou Plot: Odhós Kallérgi 5	A-10-29
Bonoris Plot: Odhós Tripóleos 7b	A-10-57
Bouboureka Plot: Odhós Ayíou Yeoryíou 44	A-10-50
Boudheri Plot: Párodhos Theátrou 44	A-10-37
Cemetery (South of): Virgin Mary Chapel	A-10-77
Deíras (Deirádha)	A-10-10
Efstratiadhis-Delis Plot: Párodhos Theátrou	A-10-34
Floros Plot: Odhós Karaïskáki 6	A-10-25
Florou Plot: Párodhos Theátrou 12	A-10-63
Fotopoulou Plot: Foot of ‘Aspis’ at Párodhos Aspídhos	A-10-5
Foustoukos Plot: Odhós Kaváfi and Messinías-Arkadhías	A-10-75
Fragkou Plot: Across National Gym	A-10-76
Gavrilou Plot: Párodhos Goúnari.	A-10-39
Georgas Plot (see Yeorgas Plot: Odhós Zográfou 9)	
Gkrania Plot: Odhós Goúnari	A-10-36
Hospital Area: Foot of ‘Aspis’ on Odhós Korínthou	A-10-1
Iliopoulos Plot: Odhós Yeorgantá and Goúnari	A-10-22
Ioannidhis Plot: Párodhos Nióvis	A-10-14
Irakléous Street	A-10-12
Kalatzis Plot: Odhós Papanikoláou	A-10-83
Kaloyeropoulou Plot: Odhós Th. Kolokótroni 10	A-10-18
Kanellopoulou Plot: Odhós Tripóleos 26	A-10-61
Karmoyianni Plot: <i>Agora</i>	A-10-42
Kazas Plot: Odhós Irakléous 158	A-10-3
Kontou Plot: Párodhos Belínou	A-10-28
Koromikhis Plot: Odhós Foronéos 5a	A-10-21
Koros Plot: Odhós Atréos and Párodhos Theátrou	A-10-69
Korous Plot: Odhós Tripóleos 11	A-10-56

Kosma Plot: Odhós Th. Kolokótroni 12	A-10-17
Kotsiantis Plot: Párodhos Danaoú	A-10-71
Kotsomyti Plot: Odhós Tripóleos 19	A-10-62
Kouros Plot: Odhós Tripóleos 11	A-10-51
Kypséli Square	A-10-59
Larisa: North of Theatre, West of Odhós Goúnari	A-10-35
Larisa: East Slope	A-10-80
Larisa: North-west Slope, North-east Corner	A-10-82
Larisa: Summit	A-10-81
Lembetzi Plot: Párodhos Theátrou	A-10-79
Maniati Plot: Odhós Atréos	A-10-72
Míaouli (Odhós)	A-10-78
Museum Area: Odhós Vas. Ólgas	A-10-24
National Gym (North of)	A-10-53
Odeon (South-west of): Public School Number 5	A-10-51
Palaiologos Plot: Párodhos Tripóleos	A-10-58
Papanikolaou Plot: Odhós Danaoú 21	A-10-26
Peppa Plot: Odhós Kofinioti 27	A-10-32
Piligkikou-Xenaki-Rikou Plot: Odhós Irakléous 50, 51, 54	A-10-11
Piliou-Zakharaki-Renta Plot: Párodhos Asklipioú 23	A-10-38
Plati-Zisi-Diamanti-Xixi Plot: Odhós Danaoú 27	A-10-45
Pouli Plot: Corner of Odhós Atréos and Danaoú	A-10-74
Poulou Plot: Odhós Karatzá 8	A-10-4
Raptis Plot: Between Odhós Feídhonos and Roussou.	A-10-44
Reskou Plot: Odhós Goúnari 22	A-10-16
Siambli Plot: Párodhos Karatzá 44	A-10-6
Sirouni Plot: Párodhos Theátrou 5	A-10-70
Skliri Plot: Corner of Odhós Goúnari and Foronéos	A-10-20
Stragka Plot: Odhós Ayíou Yeoryíou 3	A-10-48
Symeonidhis Plot: Odhós Meándrou and Polyneíkus	A-19-52
Strengla Plot: Foot of 'Aspis' at Odhós Diomidhoús 136	A-10-2
Syngelas-Kolovos Plot: Odhós Theátrou	A-10-43
Theatre Area	A-10-40
Theatre and <i>Agora</i> Area: Odhós Tripóleos	A-10-60
Theatre- <i>Aliaia</i> 'à gradins droits'	A-10-33
Theodoropoulou Plot: Odhós Perséos 41	A-10-13
Thivaíou Plot: Odhós Inákhrou 98 and Korytsás	A-10-19
Tsouloukhas Plot: Danaoú 59	A-10-46
Tsougkriani Plot: Corner of Odhós Atréos and Danaoú	A-10-73
Vigkos Plot: Odhós Korínthou 138	A-10-15
Xintaropoulos Plot: Odhós Ayíou Konstantínou	A-10-31
Yeorgas Plot: Odhós Zográfou 9	A-10-27

Site Index for Argos in Greek

Αγ. Σωτήρα	A-10-54
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Δ. και Χρ., Πάροδος Γούναρη 7	A-10-23
ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Οδός Κοφινιώτου	A-10-47
ΒΙΓΚΟΣ, Οδός Κορίνθου	A-10-15
ΓΑΒΗΛΟΥ, Π., Πάροδος Γούναρη	A-10-39
ΓΕΩΡΓΑΣ, Δ., Οδός Ζωγράφου 9	A-10-27
ΓΚΡΑΝΙΑ, Αφοί, Οδός Γούναρη (δίπλα Θέατρο)	A-10-36
Δειράδα	A-10-10
Δήμος (έργα Ο.Τ.Ε.), Αγ. Γεωργίου	A-10-49
Δήμος (έργα υδρεύσης), Πάροδος Τριπόλεως	A-10-60
Δήμος (Πλατεία Κυψέλης), Συνοικισμός	A-10-59
Δημοτικό Σχολείο (5), Πάροδος Αγ. Γεωργίου	A-10-51
Εθνικό Γυμναστήριο Άργους, ΝΔ. της πόλης	A-10-53
ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, Α.-ΝΤΕΛΗΣ, Εθ., Πάροδος Θεάτρου	A-10-34
ΗΛΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Β., Οδός Γεωργαντά/Γούναρη	A-10-22
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Οδός Περσέως 41	A-10-13
ΘΗΒΑΙΟΥ, Χρ., Οδός Ινάχου 98/ Κορυτσάς	A-10-19
ΙΩΑΝΝΙΔΗΣ, Χρ., Πάροδος Νιόβης	A-10-14
ΚΑΛΟΓΕΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Α., Οδός Θ. Κολοκοτρώνη 10	A-10-18
ΚΑΛΑΤΖΗΣ, Β., Οδός Παπανικολάου	A-10-83
ΚΑΝΕΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Ι., Οδός Τριπόλεως 26	A-10-61
ΚΑΡΜΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ, Αγορά	A-10-42
ΚΑΖΑΣ, Χ., Οδός Ηρακλέους 158	A-10-3
ΚΟΝΤΟΥ, Πάροδος Μπελίνου	A-10-28
ΚΟΡΟΜΙΧΗΣ, Οδός Φορωνέως 5α	A-10-21
ΚΩΡΟΣ, Σ., Οδός Ατρέως	A-10-69
ΚΟΣΜΑ, Αφοί, Οδός Θ. Κολοκοτρώνη 12	A-10-17
ΚΟΥΡΟΣ, Π., Οδός Τριπόλεως	A-10-56
ΚΩΤΣΙΑΝΤΗΣ, Χρ., Πάροδος Δαναού	A-10-71
ΚΩΤΣΟΜΥΤΗ, Π., Οδός Τριπόλεως 19	A-10-62
Λάρισα, Ανατολική πλευρά	A-10-80
Λάρισα (Δ. Πρόποδες), Δ. της οδού Γούναρη	A-10-35
Λάρισα (Κάστρο), ΒΑ. γωνία	A-10-81
	A-10-82
ΛΕΜΠΕΤΖΗΣ, Γ., Πάροδος Θεάτρου	A-10-79
ΜΑΝΙΑΤΗ, Β., Οδός Ατρέως	A-10-72
Μουσείο, Οδός Βασ. Όλγας	A-10-24
ΜΠΑΚΑΛΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ, Γ. Δ., Νότια των Λουτρών	A-10-55
ΜΠΕΡΤΖΕΛΕΤΟΣ, Οδός Βασ. Σοφίας 25	A-10-30
ΜΠΛΑΤΣΟΥ, Σπ., Οδός Καλλέργη	A-10-29
ΜΠΟΝΩΡΗΣ, Οδός Τριπόλεως 7β	A-10-57
ΜΠΟΥΔΕΡΗ, Γ., Πάροδος Θεάτρου 44	A-10-37
ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΡΕΚΑ, Γ., Οδός Αγ. Γεωργίου 44	A-10-50
Νεκροταφείο Παναγίας, Δ.-ΝΔ. του νεκροταφείου	A-10-77
ΞΥΝΤΑΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Οδός Αγ. Κωνσταντίνου	A-10-31

Οδός Ατρέως	A-10-84
Οδός Κορίνθου	A-10-1
Οδός Ηρακλέους	A-10-12
Οδός Μιαουλή	A-10-78
ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ, Χρ., Πάραδος Τριπόλεως	A-10-58
ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, Η., Οδός Δαναού 21	A-10-26
ΠΕΠΠΑ, Α., Οδός Κοφινιώτη 27	A-10-32
ΠΗΛΙΓΚΙΚΟΥ, ΞΕΝΑΚΗ, ΡΙΚΟΥ, Οδός Ηρακλέους 50, 51, 54	A-10-11
ΠΗΛΙΟΥ, ΖΑΧΑΡΑΚΗ, ΡΕΝΤΑ, Πάροδος Ασκληπιού 23	A-10-38
ΠΛΑΤΗ, ΖΗΣΗ, ΞΙΞΗ, ΔΙΑΜΑΝΤΗ, Οδός Δαναού	A-10-45
ΠΟΥΛΗ, Δ. και Π., Οδός Ατρέως/Δαναού	A-10-74
ΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Οδός Καρατζά 8	A-10-4
Προφήτης Ηλίας (‘Ασπίδα’)	A-10-7
	A-10-8
	A-10-9
ΡΑΠΤΗΣ, Οδός Φεΐδωνος/Ρούσσου	A-10-44
ΡΕΣΚΟΥ, Γ., Οδός Γούναρη 22	A-10-16
ΣΙΑΜΠΛΗ, Πάροδος Καρατζά 44	A-10-6
ΣΙΡΟΥΝΗ, Α., Πάροδος Θεάτρου 5	A-10-70
ΣΚΛΗΡΗ, Οδός Γούναρη/Φορωνέως	A-10-20
ΣΤΡΑΓΚΑ, Οδός Αγ. Γεωργίου	A-10-48
ΣΤΡΕΓΓΛΑ, Οδός Διομήδους	A-10-2
ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, Οδός Μενάνδρου/Πολυνείκους	A-10-52
ΣΥΡΕΓΓΕΛΑΣ-ΚΟΛΟΒΟΣ, Οδός Θεάτρου	A-10-43
ΤΣΟΥΓΚΡΙΑΝΗ, Κ., Οδός Ατρέως/Δαναού	A-10-73
ΤΣΟΥΛΟΥΧΑΣ, Αθ., Οδός Δαναού 59	A-10-46
ΦΛΟΡΟΣ, Σπ., Οδός Καραϊσκάκη 6	A-10-25
ΦΛΩΡΟΥ, Ευ., Πάροδος Θεάτρου 12	A-10-63
ΦΟΥΣΤΟΥΚΟΣ, Οδός Καυάφη/Μεσσηνίας-Αρκαδίας	A-10-75
ΦΡΑΓΚΟΥ, Δ., ΝΑ. του Εθν. Γυμναστ.	A-10-76
ΦΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Αικ., Πάροδος Ασπίδος	A-10-5

A. THE ARGEIA

The Argeia, an the alluvial valley at the head of the Argolic gulf and below the eastern face of the mountains of Arkadia, serves together with the smaller plains to its north as a corridor of communication with central Greece and as the link by which the more rugged Akte is attached to the Peloponnesos.

A.i.a. The Argive Plain: West of, and including, Argos

Nomós Argolídhos: Eparkhía Árgous

Protonotariou-Dheïlaki 1972a, 155-156.

Foley 1988, 178.

de Polignac 1998a, 146.

Greek Name. Δούκας, Τούρλα

1:50000 map reference. 22° 31' 30'' E and 37° 43' 30'' N.

Location. In the north-west Argolid, south-east of the modern village of Dhóuka(s), at the top of the Toúrla peak, overlooking the valley of Dhóuka.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. Here lie remains of an archaic building, probably of a temple.

Finds. Many bronze pins and pieces of bronze strips come from a votive deposit inside the building.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine ?

Comments. The site has no previous signs of occupation; it was founded in the archaic period. It could well be the sanctuary of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias (Paus. 2.25.6; de Polignac 1988a, 146 n8).

Homolle 1893, 199.
Mitsos 1949, 74.
Tomlinson 1972, 8, 38.
Protonotariou-Dheïlaki 1974, 84.
Papakhatzis 1976, 185.
Pritchett 1980, 32, figs. 1, 4, pl. 3.
Pikoulas 1988, 55-56, pl. 7.
Foley 1988, 191-192.
Touchais 1989, 600.
Winter [J.] and Winter [F.] 1990, 256.

Greek Name. Μερκούριον

1:50000 map reference. 22° 33' E and 37° 36' 30" N.

Location. In the south part of the central plain near the Arkadian border, about 15 km south-east of Argos, at modern Merkoúri, near the foot of Mt. Artemísion (Mt. Malevós) to the north and Mt. Kteniás to the south, on a valley where the Xérias river ends. This valley is approached through a spectacular gap in the hills west of Argos, where the Kharadros river has forced its way out to the plain through a gorge. Unlike the Berbatí gorge, the valley does not open out into such a wide plain.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía, chance find, 1986.

Finds. An inscribed votive base of the second half of the sixth century was found at Mouzaka on Lamba Plot and built into the wall on the right as one goes along the road from Sykia to Karya (Mitsos 1949, 74). It was dedicated to Artemis.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary. Habitation site: fortification.

Comments. This base attests to the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias (2.25.2-3). Pikoulas (1988) identifies the finding place as the ancient Argive town of Oinoe. Papakhatzis (1976, 185 n3), however, places Oinoe near the modern village of Mazi where Protonotariou-Dheïlaki (1974, 84) noted some archaic walls. The site itself is uncertain.

The stele is important in that it probably marked the boundary of the road that lead from the plain of Argos to Mantinea. If this is so, it will refer to Pausanias' (8.6.4) middle road leading to Arkadia, which is called δία τοῦ Πρινοῦ.

The settlement in the valley provided a line of communication to Mantinea, the Arkadian city with who the Argives were on friendly terms (Tomlinson 1972, 38). So the importance of the Oinoe valley was political rather than economic.

A sanctuary of Artemis was also apparently situated on the top of Mt. Artemísion, above Oinoe (Paus. 2.25.3), but no ancient remains are now visible, except for a concentration of sherds and a wall of coarse blocks between Mt. Xerovoúni and Mt. Malevós (Mt. Artemísion), at about 75 metres north by north-west from the chapel of Profitis Ilías (Pritchett 1980, 32 figs. 1, 4, pl. 3; Winter [J.] and Winter [F.] 1990, 256).

Hysiai (Akhladhókambos)

A-3

Winter [F.] 1971, 43, 158.

Tomlinson 1972, 37.

Foley 1988, 171.

Greek Name. Αχλαδόκαμπος

1:50000 map reference. 22° 35' E and 37° 31' N

Location. South-west corner of the Argolid, around the slopes of Mt. Paravounáki high above the Xábrio valley, just east of the modern village of Akhladhókambos, and about 5 km south of ancient Kenkhreai.

A church and a spring on an akropolis, by the side of the main road, mark the ruins. From here one gets a good view of the valley looking towards Mt. Parthénion, which is on the border with Arkadia.

Excavation. Unexcavated.

Features. A fortified akropolis dates to the sixth century. Its walls are a mixture of polygonal and trapezoidal masonry that are difficult to date. There are foundations of massive semi-circular towers or bastions, now barely noticeable, but perhaps clearer in the nineteenth century when they were first reported.

Function. Habitation site: fortification.

Comments. The site was presumably fortified at least from the great development of hostilities between Argos and Sparta in the later sixth century. It was chosen for its strategic position (looks out to the passes at the head of the valley to Arkadia) and also because of its spring. It was destroyed in 416 by the Spartans (Paus. 2.24.7).

Tomlinson 1972, 39.

Foley 1988, 195.

Greek Name. Σχινοχώριον

1:50000 map reference. 22° 39' E and 37° 42' 15" N.

Location. In the north-west part of the central Argolic plain, about 11 km north-west of Árgos, in a valley south-west of the Inákhos river.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Function. Habitation site: village or farmsteads ?

Skhinokhóri: Skála

Papakhristodhoulou 1970b, 117-118.

Pikoulas 1995, 267-270.

Greek Name. Σκάλα

Location. A short distance north-east of Ayía Kyriakí (Αγ. Κυριακή), south-west of Skhinokhóri.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Comments. An archaic settlement is reported between the bronze age chamber tombs and the modern village. The site of ancient Lyrkeia was nearby, on the hills at the edge of the plain.

Skhinokhóri: Khélmi

Banaki-Dhimaki 1996, 104.

Greek Name. Χέλμης

Location. In a valley north-west of Skhinokhóri, where one of the branches of the Inákhos river ends.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1991.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found eight graves, which were part of a larger cemetery connected with an important settlement. Only one burial per grave was found, without gifts, except for graves 1 and 8.

Finds. Both graves had bronze pins, and grave 1 had a sphinx of the early fifth century.

Catling 1985, 21.
Touchais 1985, 776.
Foley 1988, 184.

Greek Name. Κεφαλάριον

1:50000 map reference. 22° 41' 30" E and 37° 36' N.

Location. In the central plain about 5 km south-west of Árgos, near Ellinikó, and about 4.5 km north-west of the coast. Kefalári is where the ancient Erasínos issues from the rock.

Excavation. Unknown.

Finds. A sanctuary deposit of the archaic period with 100s of vases and figurines was excavated at the height of the Magoúla Kefalaríou.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary.

Comments. The site was re-occupied in archaic times.

Verdhelis 1963, 54.

Barakari-Gleni 1990, 119-123.

Catling 1989, 30.

Greek Name. Σκαφιδάκιον

1:50000 map reference. 22° 41' 30" E and 37° 34' N.

Location. In the south-west part of the Argive plain, about 11 km south-west of Árgos, 2.5 km north-east of Mýloi, at the edge of the Argive plain, south-east of Skafidháki and north of Mt. Pontion.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. Graves (probably some of which were archaic ?) were found here.

Finds. The graves contained little baskets, a bg lekythos decorated with birds, a necklace, and silver rings.

At Megála Lithária a pottery fill of archaic sherds mixed in with later ones was found under levels of a hellenistic building.

Function. Special-purpose site: cemetery.

Comments. Perhaps this cemetery belonged to a nearby settlement.

Elaious (Spiliotáki)

A-7

Daux 1966a, 791.

Verdhelis 1966a, 121-122.

Greek Name. Σπηλιωτάκης

1:50000 map reference. 22° 41' 30" E and 37° 31' N.

Location. About 5 km south-west of Kivéri village (south of Mýloi) and less than 2 km south of Spiliotáki's railway station, south of Mt. Pontion, near the border with Arkadia.

The site is difficult to find; one has to look for a low rocky knoll covered with shrubs in the area of the Athanassopoulos Plot, about 500 m from the church of Άγιος Δημητρίος. The Xovrió river runs near here, from Kivéri.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. An excavation under Verdhelis was carried out about 100 m from the votive deposit (below), with the hope of finding the sanctuary. They uncovered the foundations of a rectangular building, with a Doric colonnade and two rooms, oriented north-east, south-west. This structure was identified as a temple with a double *sekos*, which dates to the late sixth-early fifth century.

Finds. A large votive deposit dates from the sixth century to the hellenistic period. It includes miniature pots and 100s of terracotta figurines, an inscription of bronze from the second half of the fifth century, and a relief representing a goddess who could be Demeter.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary. Habitation site: fortification ?

Comments. The temple is probably dedicated to Demeter and Kore. The area is strategic, for it guards the pass to Arkadia. It seems to be inhabited for the first time in the archaic period.

Magoúla (near Kefálari)

A-8

Vollgraff 1907, 179-180.

Touchais 1985, 775.

Fossey 1987, 81.

Foley 1988, 150-151, 184.

Greek Name. Μαγούλα

1:50000 map reference. 22° 42' 45" E and 37° 35' 30" N.

Location. South-west of Argos, at the side of the road to Mýloi where it crosses the Erasinos, between Néa Kíos and Kefálari.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. Vollgraff found the foundations of a small building.

Finds. Fragments of a monolithic Doric column with sixteen flutes were discovered at the north-east angle of the building. Apparently 1000s of pots and 100s of figurines of the seventh and sixth centuries were found in a votive deposit situated a few metres away.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine.

Comments. This small temple perhaps belongs to Artemis.

Lerna (near Mýloi)

A-9

Vollgraff 1907, 179-180.

Caskey 1954, 6-11; 1955, 32; 1956, 155-173.

Tomlinson 1972, 43-44.

Barakari-Gleni 1988, 120-122.

Catling 1989, 29.

Foley 1988, 150.

Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 90-91.

Greek Name. Λέρνη (near Μύλοι)

1:50000 map reference. 22° 43' E and 37° 33' N.

Location. About 4 km north-west of Kivéri and 12 km south of Argos, just a few hundred metres west of the coast, on the road to Ástros.

Excavation. American School and Greek Eforeía excavations.

Finds. Fragments of pottery were recovered from the surface over the House of Tiles and particularly from three wells in Area B, one of which yielded bf and Corinthian sherds, a series of nineteen terracotta spools, and three loom-weights. Two of the wells produced, in addition to pottery, fragmentary terracotta figurines of Argive type representing seated females (Caskey 1955, 32).

Function. Habitation site: farmstead ?

Comments. The spools and loom-weights may represent the equipment of a single weaving establishment.

This region is more likely to have been occupied as a series of farms, well watered from the springs at the foot of the hills, and controlled from Argos.

North-west of Lerna

Barakari-Gleni 1988, 120-122.

Catling 1989, 29.

Location. Plot beside the Mýloi-Trípolis road, 200 m north-west of Lerna.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía investigations, 1980.

Finds. It is noted that very little pottery was found; fifth century material came from the vicinity of the late fifth century isodomic wall. The finds include two antefixes.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine ?

Comments. Surface finds raised hopes that this might be the site of the temple of Demeter mentioned by Pausanias.

The three divinities worshipped in the sacred wood of Lerna were primarily Demeter, Dionysos, and Aphrodite (Musti and Torelli 1986, 336). The area must have been in direct communication with the world of the dead, since at least two divinities worshipped there are linked with Hades (Paus. 2.26.7, 3.37.5).

- Rogers 1901, 159-174.
Vollgraff 1903, 260-279; 1909, 171-200, 445-466; 1910, 331-354; 1913, 279-309; 1944-45, 391-403; 1948; 1958, 516-570.
Boëthius 1922, 248-288.
Seymour 1922, 24-30.
EF 1954, 158-189; 1956b, 361-399; 1957, 637-687.
Bourguet 1930, 1-8.
Jenkins 1931-32, 23-40.
Luria 1933, 211-228.
Lehmann 1937.
Ringwood-Arnold 1937, 436-440.
Papaspiridhi-Karouzou 1938, 16-53.
Kahrstedt 1942, 72-91.
Moretti [L.] 1948, 204-222.
Koumanoudhes and Oikonomidhes 1952-53, 67-69.
Charneux 1953, 387-403; 1984, 207-227.
Courbin 1956b, 166-174.
Mastrokosta 1957, 24.
Huxley 1958, 588-601.
Willetts 1959, 495-506.
Hammond 1960, 33-36.
Forrest 1960, 221-241.
Kiechle 1960, 181-200.
Pallas 1963, 69-83.
Verdhelis 1963, 54.
Wörrle 1964.
de Sanctis 1966, 49-52.
Bovon 1966.
Mylonas 1967b, 160-163.
Bommelaer, Croissant, and Grandjean 1967-70, 219-220; 1974, 112-113.
Roes 1969, 333-336.
Sarian 1969, 651-678.
Papakhristodhoulou 1971, 92-99.
Kelly 1970b, 971-1003; 1974, 81-99; 1976.
Bruneau 1970, 437-531.
Zambelli 1971, 148-158.
Lotze 1971, 93-109.
Kritzas 1980a, 497-510.
Moggi 1974, 1249-1263.
Le Roy 1975, 190-194.
Mitsos 1977a, 265-271; 1977b, 246-248.
Fossey 1980, 57-75.
Sakellariou 1981, 83-95.
Piérart 1983, 269-275; 1990a, 319-333; 1990b, 277-292; 1992a, 119-155; 1992b, 167-177.
de Polignac 1985, 55-63.
David 1986, 124.
Pariente, Aupert, and Moretti [J.-C.] 1988, 697-720.
Pikoulas 1988, 55-56.
Lazzarini and Zevi 1988-89, 33-48.
Kolokotsas 1990, 141-148.
Andrews 1990, 171-178.
Merrill 1991, 16-25.
Aslamantizidhou-Kostourou 1991, 178-193.
Arvanitopoulou 1992, 72-99.
Hall [J.] 1993; 1995a, 577-513; 1995b, 6-17; 1997a; 1997b, 89-109.
Pariente and Touchais 1998.
Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 165-178.

Greek Name. Ἄργος

1:50000 map reference. 22° 43' 30" E and 37° 38' 15" N.

Location. About 6 km north of the coast of Néa Kíos, between the Erasínos and Inákhos rivers. It is dominated by two hills, the Larisa (300 m) with its mediaeval castle on the summit, and the hill of Profitis Ilías conventionally (90 m), and wrongly, called the 'Aspis' (Aspída). The ravine of the Deíras (Deíradha) separates the two hills, at the foot of which lies the habitation zone. Its expansion is blocked to the north and to the north-east by the Xérias (ancient Kharadros), a seasonal river bed which empties out into the Inákhos river.

Excavation. The first archaeological activity was at the site of the hellenistic theatre, which was partly excavated by Kophiniotis in 1891. At the beginning of this century the French School under Vollgraff excavated at various times between 1902 and 1930 in areas not covered by the modern city, including several bronze age settlements and about ten bronze age tombs on the 'Aspis'. At the summit of the Larisa he cleared two archaic temples in the court of the Franco-Venetian fortress and found bronze age fortification walls. The Deíras also began to be excavated at the turn of the century; there they found mainly bronze age chamber tombs, often including later material. Around the same time Vollgraff excavated the theatre, the roman odeon, and some byzantine mosaics. Excavations were resumed in 1952 with Roux, Courbin, and Charneux, and work has continued since.

Function. Habitation site: town.

Comment. The urban centre of Argos during the archaic period occupied about the same territory as the modern village. Fortification walls were found in the Larisa and to the south and south-west of the city (Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 165). The whole city was fortified in archaic/classical times.

The main roads include: 1) running north-south and leading to the *agora*, it follows the modern Irakléous-Goúnari streets; 2) running north of the current Theátrou street, leading to the *agora* through a monumental doorway of the imperial period; 3) following the modern Atréos street, which went behind the Stoa Pi and led to the Aphrodision and *Aliaia*; 4) leading to the theatre from the crossing of Goúnari and Theátrou streets; and 5) running north-west/south-east in the north-west sector of the city near the Xérias (the ancient Kharadros) river (Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 166).

All the roads passed through city gates leading into the *agora*, but the only one that was identified is the Deíras gate, between the Larisa and the Deíras, where ended the road coming from Mantinea through Oinoe.

The most important cemeteries developed outside the walls, to the north and south, on the slopes, near the road leading from Korinthos to Tegea.

The plan of buildings inside the walls is still not well known. We find archaic and classical houses to the north, towards the Deíras, and especially to the east of the line formed by the nymphaeum of the Larisa and the theatre-*Aliaia* ‘à gradins droits’. They must have been concentrated along the streets that linked Argos to the many villages in the area. As we approach the place where they converge, small sanctuaries and workshops begin to multiply. At this point, from the sixth century onwards, the *agora* was installed in a space defined by the streets of the Heraion, the road from Korinthos to Tegea, and the street leading from the Kylarabis Gate to the Aphrodision.

Argos. Hospital Area: Foot of ‘Aspis’ on Odhós Korínthou

A-10-1

Protonotariou-Dheílaki 1966, 122-127; 1974, 76.

Hägg 1974, 143.

Courbin 1977b, 327.

Foley 1988, 203-204.

Greek Name. Οδός Κορίνθου

City map reference. Square 5. Sondage 85.

Location. On the grounds of the new hospital near the foot of the ‘Aspis’.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1963-1970.

Features. As many as ten pithos burials of the seventh century were found in this area.

A sixth century ovoid pithos (IIIa13), oriented north-south, lay over a geometric cist. The grave was 1.75 m long; the body was badly preserved. Another sixth century cylindrical pithos (IIIa8) with a similar orientation and closed by a stone slab also held a badly preserved body.

Finds. Two pots, a ‘psefos’ and a pyxis with vertical handles, were found inside the first grave, pithos IIIa13. The second grave contained an oinochoe, two aryballoi, and one phiale.

Argos. Strengla Plot: Foot of 'Aspis' at Odhós Diomidhoús 136 **A-10-2**
Dheřlaki 1977, 112.

Greek Name. ΣΤΡΕΓΓΛΑ, Οδός Διομήδους

City map reference. Square 8. Sondage 214.

Location. At 136 Diomidhoús Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972.

Comments. A coroplast's workshop has been identified in is area. The material has not (yet) been published.

Argos. Kazas Plot: Odhós Irakléous 158 **A-10-3**
Dheřlaki 1977, 97-98; 1979, 208.

Greek Name. ΚΑΖΑΣ, Χ., Οδός Ηρακλέους 158

City map reference. Square 5. Sondage 234.

Location. At 3 Irakléous Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972-1973.

Features. The graves here are mainly hellenistic, but one pit burial is archaic.

Finds. A small pot was found inside the grave.

Argos. Poulou Plot: Odhós Karatzá 8 **A-10-4**
Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1988, 167 n.19.

Greek Name. ΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Οδός Καρατζά 8

City map reference. Square 8. Sondage 276.

Location. On Karatzá Street near the Deíras.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973-1974.

Features. Archaic walls and an embankment or cutting were found.

Comments. These walls may be the foundations of houses.

Argos. Fotopoulou Plot: Foot of 'Aspis' at Párodhos Aspídhos **A-10-5**
Kaza-Papayeoryiou 1988, 116.
Touchais 1989, 602.
Catling 1989, 24.

Greek Name. ΦΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Αικ., Πάροδος Ασπίδος

City map reference. Square 8. Sondage 381.

Location. On Párodhos Aspídhos, at the foot of the ‘Aspis’ on the east and south-east flank of the hill.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1980.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found a very unusual feature sealed by a hard deposit containing a group of five decapitated horse burials of archaic date. Remains of two walls were found east of the horse burials.

Finds. With the burials they found archaic sherds.

Comments. Horses in antiquity were probably decapitated during the killing process; we cannot say in this case whether they were sacrificed or just killed on account of illness. In the absence of associations for these animals their significance is elusive.

Argos. Siambli Plot: Párodhos Karatzá 44

A-10-6

Dheñlaki 1977, 121-122; 1979, 208.

Greek Name. ΣΙΑΜΠΛΗ, Πάροδος Καρατζά 44

City map reference. Squares 8 and 12. Sondage 233.

Location. On Párodhos Karatzá, next to Strengla Plot.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972-1973.

Finds. The Greek Archaeological Service found only one archaic sherd.

Comments. There was cult activity in the area.

Argos. ‘Aspis’ or Profitis Ilías: North Slope

A-10-7

Aupert, Piérart, and Touchais 1980, 698.

Greek Name. Προφήτης Ηλίας (‘Ασπίδα’)

City map reference: Squares 5 and 83. Sondage 262.

Location. North sector of the ‘Aspis’, under the hellenistic bastion.

Excavation. French School excavations and rescue, 1902-1990.

Features. The excavators found a polygonal fortification wall almost 3 m wide. Though one part of it is middle hellenistic, the earlier wall might be archaic.

Finds. An archaic votive deposit was found over a floor north of the polygonal fortification wall. It contained many small cups, terracotta rings, and small bells, as well as some figurines (Aupert, Piérart, and Touchais 1980, 697, fig. 12).

Comments. It seems that the ‘Aspis’ was fortified during the archaic period. A votive deposit here indicates some sort of cult activity, perhaps it was associated with the yet undiscovered temple of Hera Akraia.

Argos. ‘Aspis’ or Profitis Ilías: South-west Slope

A-10-8

Vollgraff 1906, 37; 1907, 159ff.; 1920, 219-226; 1956, 11-12, 43-45, 51-76.

Roux 1957, 486; 1961, 15, 65-82.

Bergquist 1967, 18-19.

Tomlinson 1972, 23.

Coulton 1976.

Musti and Torelli 1986, 290.

Foley 1988, 140-142.

Hägg 1992a, 9-36.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 604-605.

Greek Name. Προφήτης Ηλίας (‘Ασπίδα’)

City map reference. Squares 5 and 83. Sondage 262.

Location. South-west flank of the ‘Aspis’, in an area where various other buildings discovered by Vollgraff at the turn of the century.

Excavation. French School excavations and rescue, 1902-1990.

Features. A three-chambered building (Building E), probably a temple, was excavated by Vollgraff within the south bastion wall. Among the other remains excavated were four terraces and buildings that included among them two stoas, an altar, and a cistern. The west terrace wall and perhaps the altar have been designated as archaic (Hägg 1992a, 12).

The foundations of one of the stoas, a one-aisled West stoa in the east part of the north boundary of the sanctuary, may also be archaic. Very few remains are left, but according to Vollgraff, it was 26 m long and may have been two storeys. This West Stoa has its east end cut into the rock, so that a wall, not a colonnade, must have formed part of the south façade. It has been dated to the sixth century.

Finds. Geometric and archaic sherds were noted in the area of the west terrace wall. A seventh-sixth century votive deposit of many miniature pots, female and animal figurines, terracotta wreaths and fruits, and the head of a small bronze figurine (Apollo ?) was located just north of the sanctuary area, near the church of the Profitis Ilías (Vollgraff 1907, 156, fig. 5; and 1956, figs. 22-23).

Sixth and fifth century column fragments and architectural terracottas were found in the area (Vollgraff 1907, 156, fig. 4; 1907, 155, fig. 4; and 1956, fig. 14).

Comments. The site has suffered severe destruction and there is little left of the archaic buildings. It was obviously a cult site of geometric origin before the archaic *temenos* was

established here. We know from a hellenistic inscription that an archaic temple was built somewhere in the west part of the *temenos* and an altar in the east part.

Vollgraff's Building E can be reasonably identified with the temple of Hera Akraia; associated finds suggest a date in the sixth century for this temple. The sanctuary itself was probably began as a terrace and an altar, and later a temple.

The main road leading to the *temenos* must have run from the central part of the town of Argos in the south-east (Bergquist 1967, pl. 4).

Argos. 'Aspis' or Profitis Ilías: South Sector

A-10-9

Touchais 1980, 596.

Antonaccio 1995.

Greek Name. Προφήτης Ηλίας ('Ασπίδα')

City map reference. Squares 5 and 83. Sondage 262.

Location. South part of the 'Aspis' in the area of the Deíras.

Excavation. French School excavations and rescue, 1902-1990.

Features. Two archaic graves had been opened in the bronze age Tomb 93, and a third next to it (Tombs 94, 95, and 96).

Finds. Miniature pottery as well as terracotta figurines of females and horsemen were found. In the south side of the bronze age Tumulus A were found archaic ceramic material (Antonaccio 1995, 13, fig. 1).

Comments. Here is evidence of cult activity.

Argos. Deíras (Deirádha)

A-10-10

Vollgraff 1904, 367, 374-375; 1956.

Deshayes 1953, 59-89.

Barrett [W.] 1954, 421-444.

Roux 1957, 474-487.

Daux 1959b, 769-774.

Deshayes 1966, 5-6, 8, 27, 94, 226, 229, 252.

Bergquist 1967, 18-19.

Deshayes 1969, 574-616.

Tomlinson 1972, 23.

Foley 1988, 140.

Billot 1989-90, 52-57.

Hägg 1992a, 12.

Greek Name. Δειράδα

City map reference. Squares 8 and 83. Sondage 57.

Location. The area between the 'Aspis' and the Larisa.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1902-1958. Vollgraff discovered nine tombs early in the century. Later excavations were conducted by Deshayes.

Finds. A fragment of an antefix, decorated black on beige, was found in trench E. On the surface near trench J a fragment of palmette antefix with red and ochre was found. Another three fragments of painted architectural terracottas (*simas*) with red and ochre and black on cream ground came from trench D. Two of the *simas* date to the second half of the sixth century. Fragments of three painted antefixes and a tile were discovered in the *dromos* of a bronze age Tomb 10 and others from Tomb 30.

Archaic figurines and pottery were found at the bottom of Tomb 16 (Deshayes 1966, pl. 75). An archaic deposit, including one complete bowl, fragments of several others, sherds of a thick-walled conical stand, and the lip of a trefoil oinochoe, was found in Tomb 17 (Deshayes 1966, 51, pl. 57). Archaic pottery was also collected above the *dromos* of Tomb 19, on the surface and around the *dromos* of Tomb 26, and in the collapsed chamber of Tomb 29 (Deshayes 1966, 70-73). In the chamber of Tomb 5 was found a single fragment of an archaic vase.

Comments. Antefixes of this type probably come from the temple of Apollo Pythaeus, also known from the area (in ancient Greek, Deirás means a ridge of a chain of hills) as Apollo ‘Deiradotes’ (Paus. 2.24.1). The grave goods also suggest that some sort of tomb cult existed here.

Argos. Piligkikou-Xenaki-Rikou Plot: Odhós Irakléous 50, 51, 54 A- 10-11

Kritzas 1976, 198-202.

Touchais 1977, 547.

Greek Name. ΠΗΛΙΓΚΙΚΟΥ, Π., ΞΕΝΑΚΗ, Α., ΠΙΚΟΥ, Ι., Οδός Ηρακλέους 50, 51, 54

City map reference. Square 9. Sondage 183.

Location. At 50, 51, and 54 Irakléous Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1971.

Features. A cemetery was in use here from bronze age to archaic times. Grave 1 is a burial pithos of early archaic years. A small geometric well in the area seems to have been filled up in archaic times.

Finds. Some archaic sherds were found in the area.

Comments. Several rescue digs in the area indicate the presence of a large cemetery (see below).

Argos. Odhós Irakléous

A-10-12

Psykhoyiou 1997, 91.

Greek Name. Οδός Ηρακλέους

City map reference. Square 9.

Location. On Irakléous Street, 80m north of Diomiodhou.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1992.

Features. A pit, 2.55m deep, was found covered a tile, with three adult burials.

Finds. Inside the pit were pots of archaic and early classical period.

Argos. Theodoropoulou Plot: Odhós Perséos 41

A-10-13

Dheílaki-Protonotariou 1974, 81; Dheílaki 1977, 102.

Touchais 1978, 664.

Greek Name. ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Οδός Περσέως 41

City map reference. Square 9. Sondage 224.

Location. At 41 Perséos Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1970-1972.

Features. The excavator mentions that the area was a cemetery from geometric, archaic and hellenistic years, but nothing more specific. This area must be part of the previous plot on Irakléous Street.

Argos. Ioannidhis Plot: Párodhos Nióvis

A-10-14

Foley 1988, 140.

Barakari-Gleni 1991, 171-204.

Greek Name. ΙΩΑΝΝΙΔΗΣ, Χρ., Πάροδος Νιόβης

City map reference. Square 9. Sondage 413.

Location. On Párodhos Nióvis, in the north-west of Árgos, 1.3 m south-west of the ancient *agora* and 260 m east of the ‘Aspis’.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1981.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found bronze age, archaic, and classical tombs. In an archaic grave (Tomb 3) they found three burials placed together with Attic and Corinthian pots. In the east part of the grave there was a square area with bones of adults--probably a secondary burial.

Tomb 4 can be paralleled with the previous grave. It is 2.4 m deep, and only 15 cm away from Tomb 3. It had been reused, because one part of it was left uncovered. Probably this was the family grave of two adults and a child, with its tiny bones and small Corinthian pots. This grave is dated to the early fifth century.

Finds. Tomb 3 had two Corinthian pots, Boiotian, Attic, and Corinthian pyxides, a Corinthian skyphos, an oinochoe, and a lekythos, all dating to the last quarter of the fifth century. Tomb 4 contained a Corinthian pyxis, an amphoriskos, small kotylai, a tripod, kraters, bottles, a bg Siana cup, and an Attic miniature kylix with a scene of teenager preparing for horse-riding. An Attic bg lekythos depicting a scene with three women by the Aimonis painter was found together with two Corinthian pyxides of the white style and a Laconian skyphos.

Among the figurines was an idol with two women baking bread similar to the ones found at Tiryns and Argos.

Three pairs of sandals were also recovered from the woman's burial.

Argos. Vigkos Plot: Odhós Korínthou 138

A-10-15

Daux 1961, 675.

Alexandri 1962, 93.

Greek Name. ΒΙΓΚΟΣ, Οδός Κορίνθου

City map reference. Square 10. Sondage 74.

Location. At 139 Korínthou Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1959.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found two cist graves: one was fifth century and the other was hellenistic.

Finds. In the fifth century tomb was a pyxis with *protomai* on the rim and some figurines.

Argos. Reskou Plot: Odhós Goúnari 22

A-10-16

Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1988, 167 n.27.

Greek Name. ΠΕΣΚΟΥ, Γ., Οδός Γούναρη 22

City map reference. Square 12. Sondage 310.

Location. At 22 Goúnari Street.

Excavation. Rescue excavation, 1976.

Comments. Votives indicate cult activity in the area.

Argos. Kosma Plot: Odhós Th. Kolokotróni 12

A-10-17

Kritzas 1976, 197-198.

Greek Name. ΚΟΣΜΑ, Αφοί, Οδός Θ. Κολοκοτρώνη 12

City map reference. Square 13. Sondage 179.

Location. At 12 Th. Kolokótroni Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1971.

Features. Archaic and classical embankments or cuttings were found here.

Finds. Archaic sherds were collected in the area.

Comments. Probably the cuttings were part of foundations to archaic houses.

Argos. Kaloyeropoulou Plot: Odhós Th. Kolokotróni 10

A-10-18

Kritzas 1979, 228.

Touchais 1980, 596.

Greek Name. ΚΑΛΟΓΕΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Α., Οδός Θ. Κολοκοτρώνη 10

City map reference. Square 13. Sondage 254.

Location. In the centre of town at 10 Th. Kolokótroni Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973.

Finds. A few archaic sherds were found here.

Comments. This place was also used in geometric times.

Argos. Thivaïou Plot: Odhós Inákhou 98 and Korytsás

A-10-19

Piteros 1989, 80.

Greek Name. ΘΗΒΑΙΟΥ, Χρ., Οδός Ινάχου 98/ Κορυτσάς

City map reference. Square 14. Sondage 504.

Location. At 98 Inákhou Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1984.

Features. Tombs were found here, including a burial pithos of the early archaic period.

Argos. Skliri Plot: Corner of Odhós Goúnari and Foronéos

A-10-20

Daux 1967b, 825, 828.

Papakhristodhoulou 1970a, 108.

Michaud 1971, 865, 872.

Courbin 1977b, 327.

Foley 1988, 210.

Greek Name. ΣΚΛΗΡΗ, Οδός Γούναρη/Φορωνέως

City map reference. Square 17. Sondage 136.

Location. At the corner of Goúnari and Foronéos Streets, across from Avgousti Plot on Goúnari Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1968.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service excavated a cemetery area and found an archaic burial pithos with three bodies inside it (Papakhristodhoulou 1970a, pl. 89a). It probably dates to the late seventh century, but it was reused twice, probably at a later date, in the sixth century. When the third body was put in, a hole was made on the side of the *pithos*, which was later covered up by tile fragments.

Finds. Some fine Corinthian pots were recovered from the burial (Papakhristodhoulou 1970a, pl. 88; Michaud 1971, figs. 145-147).

Argos. Koromikhis Plot: Odhós Foronéos 5a

A-10-21

Protonotariou-Dheílaki 1974, 78.

Greek Name. ΚΟΡΟΜΙΧΗΣ, Οδός Φορωνέως 5α

City map reference. Square 17. Sondage 154.

Location. At 5a Foronéos Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1970.

Finds. Archaic sherds were found in the area of roman graves.

Comments. The area was occupied in archaic times.

Argos. Iliopoulos Plot: Odhós Yeorgantá and Goúnari

A-10-22

Protonotariou-Dheílaki 1972a, 155.

Foley 1988, 204.

Greek Name. ΗΛΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Β., Οδός Γεωργαντά/Γούναρη

City map reference. Square 17. Sondage 145.

Location. On Yeorgantá and Goúnari Streets.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1969.

Features. Geometric and archaic graves were found here. Excavators identified an archaic burial pithos with two phases; possibly one of these dated to the sixth century.

Finds. The *pithos* contained two *kylikes*, a Corinthian *pyxis*, and a late geometric krater with the bones of a child.

Argos. Athanasopoulou Plot: Párodhos Goúnari 7

A- 10-23

Kritzas 1977, 130.

Greek Name. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Δ. και Χρ., Πάροδος Γούναρη 7

City map reference. Square 17. Sondage 195.

Location. On Párodhos Goúnari, at number 7, near the Church of Timios *Prodromos*.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972.

Finds. The Greek Archaeological Service found archaic levels with many figurines of riders, warriors, females, and animals.

Comments. The finds suggest cult activity.

Argos. Museum Area: Odhós Vas. Ólgas

A-10-24

EF 1957, 647-660.

Courbin 1963, 59-102; 1966.

Leekley and Noyes 1976, 58.

Foley 1988, 207-208.

Greek Name. Μουσείο, Οδός Βασ. Όλγας

City map reference. Square 18. Sondage 63.

Location. Near the city centre, in sector epsilon, on Vas. Ólgas Street.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1956.

Features. A protogeometric to archaic cemetery with cist and *pithos* burials was excavated. One early seventh century burial krater held the bones of a child.

Finds. An abundant quantity of ceramics was found; they note 300 lamps of all periods, a large quantity of Attic rf and bf fragments, and many fragments of Corinthian rf kraters (EF 1957, fig. 15).

A ‘faisselle à fromage’ (Argos Mus.: inv.II 582+582bis) was found in sondage A at the bottom of a hellenistic well. The fragments were mixed with two similar vases and fragments of fifth century local bg skyphoi imitating Attic ones (Argos Mus.: inv.II 645; EF 1957, 657-660, fig. 47).

Comments. From the sixth century to the hellenistic period this area seems to have had workshops.

Argos. Floros Plot: Odhós Karaïskáki 6

A-10-25

Daux 1967b, 801-849.

EFA 1968, 192-194.

Foley 1988, 210.

Greek Name. ΦΛΟΡΟΣ, Σπ., Οδός Καραϊσκάκη 6

City map reference. Square 18. Sondage 114.

Location. In Su 76-77 at 6 Karaïskáki Street, north of the chapel of Áyios Kharalámbos.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1966.

Features. A late seventh-early sixth century grave in a pit was found against the mouth of *pithos* 209 (Daux 1967b, 833; Foley 1988, 210). Against the mouth of this *pithos* was found a deposit of small late Corinthian pots and the bones of a child.

Two funerary pithoi were found in SU 76b during rescue excavations. One of them (T 211) was ovoid in shape, small, and without offerings. The other (T 212) was cylindrical, and later than the previous *pithos*, Tomb 211. It had been reused twice; the first inhumation dates to the early sixth century (Daux 1967b, 833; EFA 1968, 193, Plan 1, pl. 138c).

Finds. The first burial contained a deposit of small late Corinthian pots and the bones of a child (Daux 1967b, 833; Foley 1988, 210). Of the two *pithoi*, the offerings of Tomb 212 all go back to the first inhumation: they include fifteen small Corinthian vases (Argos Mus. inv. B 173: pyxides, skyphoi, amphoriskoi, kalathoi, etc.), some of which are miniatures, as well as two female figurines in a group depicted as cooking, and a bronze phiale (Daux 1967b, 833-834, fig. 2; EFA 1968, 193, pl. 139a).

Comments. This area is associated with a cult.

Argos. Papanikolaou Plot: Odhós Danaoù 21

A-10-26

Dheílaki-Protonotariou 1974, 79.

Kritzas 1976, 192-197.

Touchais 1977, 547.

Foley 1988, 209.

Greek Name. ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, Η., Οδός Δαναού 21

City map reference. Square 18. Sondages 161 and 175.

Location. At 21 Danaoù Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1970-1971.

Feature. An early archaic (seventh century) burial pithos has been put inside a geometric grave.

Part of an archaic wall was found in the south section of the excavation.

Comments. The walls may be part of an archaic house.

Argos. Yeorgas Plot: Odhós Zográfou 9

A-10-27

Kritzas 1973, 106-119; 1976, 198.

Touchais 1977, 547.

Foley 1988, 142.

Greek Name. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΣ, Δ., Οδός Ζωγράφου 9

City map reference. Square 18. Sondage 177.

Location. On school grounds at 9 Zográfou Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1971.

Finds. Next to a hellenistic building the excavators found an archaic deposit with female and animal figurines.

Comments. Votives attest the presence in that area of cult activity in the archaic period.

Argos. Kontou Plot: Párodhos Belínou

A-10-28

Banaka-Dhimaki 1996, 88-89.

Greek Name. ΚΟΝΤΟΥ, Πάροδος Μπελίνου

City map reference. Square 18?

Location. On Parados Belínou.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1991.

Features. A pit, 1.70 m by 0.90 m by 0.50 m, was found in the south-east part of the excavation. It was lined with clay.

In the west part of the plot they found the remains of a building (4.20 m), with a floor of large river stones, at geometric levels. The building's first phase dates to the early sixth century, with additions in the fourth century.

Finds. Placed vertically inside the pit were five mudbricks. Mixed into with these were female protomai, animal and bird figurines, ankles bones, olive pits, kraters of early archaic period, phallic satyrs, pyxides, lekythoi, plaques, sphinxes, pieces of small clay cart, bird bones, a small plate, and horse-rider and seated female figurines.

Inside the building they found small clay models of capitals (?).

Comments. The structure of the pit, and the votives found inside, point to a ceremonial function.

This area was used from the early archaic period to the fourth century.

Argos. Blatsou Plot: Odhós Kallérgi 5

A-10-29

Kritzas 1976, 202-203.

Touchais 1977, 547.

Greek Name. ΜΠΛΑΤΣΟΥ, Σπ., Οδός Καλλέργη

City map reference. Square 18. Sondage 263.

Location. At 5 Kallérgi Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1971.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service discovered three cist tombs. The first two were hellenistic and the third, which contained the remains of four successive burials, yielded rich late archaic material.

Argos. Bertzeletos Plot: Odhós Vas. Sofías 25

A-10-30

Charitonides 1954, 423-424; Kharitonidhes 1955, 413-426.

EF 1953a, 211.

Tomlinson 1972, 24-27.

Greek Name. ΜΠΕΡΤΖΕΛΕΤΟΣ, Οδός Βασ. Σοφίας 25

City map reference. Square 19. Sondage 51.

Location. Close to the central square of the city, in a cemetery area, at 25 Vas. Sofías Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1952.

Features. The excavators found burials dating from the geometric period.

Comments. There seems to be a long interval in the occupation of this site during the archaic and classical period. Perhaps the city becomes more limited at this time. It is only in the fourth century that they begin to reuse this site again, first perhaps as cemetery and then for a building of unknown use. The fact that this site was used twice as a cemetery is proof that it was situated near to a road or pass and at close proximity to the city, in other words, near one of the city gates. Its location to the north of the east quarter (of the city) must be near the Eileithyian gate, which we know from Pausanias (2.28.3), where ends the road from Mykenai (and probably also the Heraion).

Argos. Xintaropoulos Plot: Odhós Ayíou Konstantínou

A-10-31

Papakhristodhoulou 1969, 128.

Greek Name. ΞΥΝΤΑΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Οδός Αγ. Κωνσταντίνου

City map reference. Squares 24 and 25. Sondage 126.

Location. South-east of the Ayíou Pétrou Square, on Ayíou Konstandínou Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1967.

Finds. When the Greek Archaeological Service dug the lower levels they found archaic Siana type cups; one had a dolphin and octopus.

Argos. Peppa Plot: Odhós Kofinioti 27

A-10-32

Kritzas 1976, 203.

Greek Name. ΠΕΠΠΑ, Α., Οδός Κοφινιώτη 27

City map reference. Squares 19 and 25. Sondage 178.

Location. On the perimeters of the city at 27 Kofinioti Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1971.

Comments. There is a sanctuary deposit here suggesting cult activity.

Argos. Theatre-Aliaia ‘à gradins droits’

A-10-33

Vollgraff 1920, 223; 1958, 516-570.

McDonald 1943, 80-84.

Ginouvès 1972, 75-82.

Croissant, Aupert, and Piérart 1974, 761-763.

Le Roy 1975, 190-194.

Moretti [J.-C.] 1993, 31-32.

Marchetti 1994, 134.

Piérart and Touchais 1996, 52.

City map reference. Squares 22 and 23.

Location. At the extremity of the Prôn (a projection of the Larisa towards the south-west), just north of the sanctuary of Aphrodite.

Excavation. French School, sondages, 1912, and excavations, 1953.

Features. This theatre has a series of tiers (37-38 seats) cut in the natural rock, without *diazôma*, flanked by two lateral staircases, and divided into two equal parts by a central staircase. These tiers, on average about 0.33 m in height, are straight, except at the top where they begin to curve slightly. Many irregularities are visible, and perhaps wooden

or stone seats were added in places where the landscape was dug in. Erosion certainly affected the rock over the centuries.

The steps of the staircase were grooved to stop people from slipping. It seems also that the architect had foreseen another means of access above the central staircase. An exterior ramp gave direct access to the higher rows of seats. Almost no traces of an orchestra have been found, but the excavators reconstruct it as trapezoidal, like the one from the theatre at Syracuse.

Finds. A remarkable particularity is that a large number of blocks on the east face of the supporting wall have one or more letters incised deep into them, probably masons' marks. The letters are characteristic of fifth century Argive writing (Jeffery 1990, 151-152).

Comments. This structure was identified at the spot where the *Aliaia*, the popular assembly, and the tribunal of Argos gathered. With its thirty-seven tiers, the structure could hold as many as 2300-2500 people. It may have been a sort of *bouleuterion*, mentioned by Herodotos (7.148) in describing the scene when the envoys of Sparta appeared at the Argive council during the Persian wars. It must have served also for musical and theatrical representations, before the construction of the large hellenistic theatre next to it (Marchetti 1994, 134; Piérart and Touchais 1996, 52). The structure belongs to the period of building activity that took place between 460 and 440, when Argos established a democracy.

The area was transformed into an odeon during the roman period.

Argos. Efstratiadhis-Delis Plot: Párodhos Theátrou **A-10-34**
Courbin 1980, 85-92.

Greek Name. ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, Α.-ΝΤΕΛΗΣ, Εθ., Πάροδος Θεάτρου

City map reference. Square 23. Sondage 8.

Location. On Párodhos Theátrou.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1978.

Comments. Votive deposits testify to the presence of cult activity in the area.

Daux 1959b, 758-762.

Greek Name. Λάρισα (Δ. Πρόποδες), Δ. της οδού Γούναρη

City map reference. Square 23. Sondage 69.

Location. Foot of the Larisa, between the road of the Deíras to the north and Goúnari Street to the east, in sector delta.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1958.

Finds. The excavators found a votive deposit of small bases and archaic figurines (seated females, horses and riders, dogs, rams, etc.) similar to the finds from the French School excavations of 1956 (EF 1957, 673-677) to the east of the theatre (Daux 1959b, fig. 16).

Comments. The results of these excavations seem to indicate the presence of cult activity nearby.

Argos. Gkrania Plot: Odhós Goúnari

A-10-36

EF 1956b, 366; 1957, 673-677.

Charles 1958, 285, 308.

Kritzas 1976, 203.

Touchais 1977, 547.

Courbin 1980, 110, 114.

Foley 1988, 141.

Pariente 1992, 205.

Marchetti 1993, 221-223; 1994, 159.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 606.

Greek Name. ΓΚΡΑΝΙΑ, Αφοί, Οδός Γούναρη (δίπλα Θέατρο)

City map reference. Square 23. Sondage 168.

Location. North, at the foot of the theatre, in the area between Goúnari Street and the theatre, in the South Quarter (sector gamma).

Excavation. French School and Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1956-1971.

Features. During the excavation they found a small square construction in rough polygonal masonry, with a door to the south. Under the south wall of this structure was a small oblong tumulus. It covered a pit in which were found two turtle shells, probably from lyres, sherds, and figurines (EF 1957, figs. 16-17).

Archaic houses were constructed all around; but only a few corners of dry masonry have survived. The floors were made of beaten earth or gravel. Traces of fire indicate many phases.

A few tombs were situated nearby. The opening of a funerary pithos was surmounted by a cylindrical opening, filled with clay (EF 1957, fig. 24). Other tombs were of children buried in a cauldron and in a krater (EF 1957, fig. 25). A cist tomb with a second funerary cauldron was also found. Altogether five skeletons of the sixth century were found. Four of them were of children under ten years of age.

Finds. Masses of ceramic and some animal horns and bones were found in the pit where the two turtle shell lyres had been placed. These include a large krater, small intact kalathoi, cups, Corinthian skyphoi, many fragments of Attic skyphoi with figurative decoration, an Attic bf lekythos of c. 510, Argive bf skyphoi and two krateriskoi with female or animal figures, spools, female and animal (bird) terracotta figurines, and a lamp (EF 1956b, 366; 1957, 673-674, figs. 18-22; Courbin 1980, 111, figs. 17-20).

Two bg oinochoai were found in the cist tomb.

Comments. The square underground chamber has been interpreted as a heroön. It dates to the late sixth-early fifth century. This area was originally associated with the cult of Apollo Lykios, but now has been re-attributed to that of Zeus.

Argos. Boudheri Plot: Párodhos Theátrou 44

A-10-37

Dheílaki 1977, 113.

Greek Name. ΜΠΟΥΔΕΡΗ, Γ., Πάροδος Θεάτρου 44

City map reference. Square 23. Sondage 203.

Location. On Párodhos Theátrou, at number 44.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972.

Finds. An archaic animal figurine was found here.

Argos. Piliou-Zakharaki-Renta Plot: Párodhos Asklipioú 23

A-10-38

Dheílaki 1977, 105-109.

Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 168 n.30.

Greek Name. ΠΗΛΙΟΥ, ΖΑΧΑΡΑΚΗ, ΠΕΝΤΑ, Πάροδος Ασκληπιού 23

City map reference. Square 23. Sondage 212.

Location. At 23 Asklipioú Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972.

Finds. Many sherds were found in a large well. A compact layer yielded many iron fragments, some of which I assume were archaic.

Comments. This was a workshop area in the archaic/classical period. Since the compact layer was not associated with the workshop, the excavator suggests that it belonged to a sanctuary.

Argos. Gavrilou Plot: Párodhos Goúnari

A-10-39

Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 168 n31.

Greek Name. ΓΑΒΗΛΟΥ, Π., Πάροδος Γούναρη

City map reference. Square 23. Sondage 450.

Location. On Párodhos Goúnari.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1982. Still unpublished.

Finds. Many moulds of figurines from the sixth and fifth centuries, together with iron fragments in a compact layer, were found here.

Comments. This area is probably to be associated with the previous workshop area.

Argos. Theatre Area

A-10-40

Vollgraff 1932-33, 231-238.

EF 1955b, 317; 1956b, 386, 391.

Aupert et al. 1982, 647.

Abadie et al. 1983, 839-840.

Catling 1989, 25.

Guggisberg 1988a, 167-234; 1988b, 535-543.

Pariente, Aupert, and Moretti [J.-C.] 1988, 720.

Moretti [J.-C.] 1998, 233-234.

City map reference. Square 23.

Location. In the area of the theatre, on the slopes of the Larisa.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. Excavators found traces of a circular hearth. In the north *parodos* of the theatre they found a strange sort of favissa, roughly square, oriented east-west, built out of reused column drums and roughly packed stones.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to locate the wall supposed to exist on the south side of the *koilon* marking the theatre's extreme limit. In one of the tests, part of a sixth and fifth century cemetery was found, including two archaic burial urns. The cemetery had been buried under the make-up for the south side of the *koilon* (Pariente, Aupert, and Moretti [J.-C.] 1989, 721).

Finds. Between the walls of the favissa were found nearly 700 fragmentary figurines, about 300 miniature vases, and a few moulds of various dates ranging from the third

quarter of the sixth century to the third century. These finds resemble those found by Courbin (EF 1957, 674) to the east near the modern road, i.e. in a pit constructed of small stones with classical finds, especially figurines, inside it (Aupert et al. 1982, 647; Abadie et al. 1983, 839-840, figs. 1-2).

In Hall G the excavators found a foot of an Attic cup inscribed with the name *φαεινιπο* (c. 500-480).

With the archaic urn burials they found a tripod pyxis, a pyxis with a concave lid, and two miniature skyphoi (Argos Mus.: inv.88.54.1-2; Pariente, Aupert, and Moretti [J.-C.] 1989, figs. 27-29). The second burial contained another tripod pyxis into which was placed a miniature skyphos (Argos Mus.: inv.88.58.1-4; Pariente, Aupert, and Moretti [J.-C.] 1989, figs. 25-26).

In a well (2) dug in the rock at the level of the seating area, Vollgraff (1933) found an archaic inscription (c. 475-450) on the lip of a small bronze vase: 'I belong to Erasinos of Argos.'

Under the modern road was recovered a lot of domestic pottery and some fragments of sixth to fourth century fine ware, including a fragment of archaic rf pottery and a lamp of the first half or the mid-fifth century (EF 1955b, 317, figs. 14-15).

About 6 m east of the theatre's stage (on the west side) were found sherds similar to those from the clearing of the theatre. These include bf sherds, bowls, scales, conical weights, and spools, all thrown there after the construction of the wall (EF 1956b, 386). More archaic pottery, including some rare sherds of sixth century Korinthus, came from a sondage in the *cavea* of the theatre (EF 1956b, 386, 391).

Comments. We can conclude about the hearth area that it was associated with the small pit discovered in 1981 immediately to the south of the orthostats. The large deposit in the north *parodos* of the theatre might be a rubbish dump for a workshop, but it was more likely a favissa, where votive objects were buried. Perhaps the favissa was built in the second century. The implication is that in this zone was once a sanctuary. If the inscription was found *in situ*, as the excavator believes, it attests to a cult of Erasinos river in this area from the early fifth century (Moretti [J.-C.] 1998, 239).

City map reference. Square 23.

Locations. At the north street and the small square of the theatre.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. The excavators discovered an archaic road. The east extremity of this road was found under the modern street, and the south-east angle lies under Goúnari Street to modern Trípolis. The west extremity goes towards the small square, which opens on the south *parodos* and the back of the theatre's stage.

Finds. Only one archaic sherd was found in association with the archaic road.

Comments. This must have been the ancient road to Neméa and Trípolís, following the modern Trípóleos Street.

Argos. Karmoyianni Plot: Agora**A-10-42**

Aupert et al. 1978, 788.

Touchais 1987, 530.

Piérart et al. 1987, 595.

Pariente, Aupert, and Moretti [J.-C.] 1988, 699-700.

Catling 1987, 18.

Piérart 1991b, 141-144.

Piérart, Pariente, and Touchais 1991, 674, 679.

Pariente 1992, 195-225.

Pariente, Piérart, and Thalmann 1998, 217.

Greek Name. KAPMOΓIANNH, Αγopά

City map reference. Squares 23 and 29.

Location. At the north-west angle of the ancient *agora*.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. While digging the septic tanks of the ancient toilets located near the south-east angle of the Karmoyiannis café, the excavators discovered three foundation blocks of the north wall of the hypostyle hall (Pariente, Aupert, and Moretti [J.-C.] 1988, 708). A roughly trapezoidal enclosure 6 m x 2.5 m, defined by nine limestone posts, eight of which were found *in situ*, enclosed a large pit, covered by a layer of ash and carbonised logs. The posts have on two or three of their faces circular cavities probably used for inserting a double barrier of wood (Piérart et al. 1987, 530; Catling 1987, 18; Pariente 1992, 195ff.).

Finds. In the area of the ancient toilets the excavators came across an abundance of archaic material. The north-west post of the trapezoidal enclosure has a sixth century inscription: *εἰσὸν| τὸν ἐν δε|βαίς* (Piérart et al. 1987, fig. 16; Catling 1987, fig. 35).

Inside the North Stoa in Karmoyianni Plot in sectors AM 76-7/AL-AM 78 the excavators found a single fragment of a Corinthian *oinochoe* with an inscription in the Corinthian alphabet. Also in the North Stoa were found many architectural fragments, of which some bear traces of fire: under-cover tiles of the mid-sixth century, cover-joints of the fifth century, classical *sima*, and so forth (Piérart, Pariente, and Touchais 1991, 674, 679).

In the area of the byzantine disturbance on its north side, among the deeper deposits of the pillared room, was a level of archaic material (Catling 1989, 25).

Comments. The reused posts were originally part of a fence around a sculptural group in the archaic *agora*. This complex implies that the site may lie within the *epiphanestatos topos* of Argos. Identified as a *heroön*, dating to the mid-sixth century, the structure referred to the seven fallen heroes who fought against Thebai and the their epigones.

It was thought that the temple of Apollo Lykios was situated in this area, but excavations have proved this theory incorrect. Instead the excavators have found a major structure, some sort of orchestra (forthcoming in *Études Pélop.* XI).

Argos. Syrengelas-Kolovos Plot: Odhós Theátrou ***A-10-43***
Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1988, 167 n.25.

Greek Name. ΣΥΡΕΓΓΕΛΑΣ-ΚΟΛΟΒΟΣ, Οδός Θεάτρου

City map reference. Square 24. Sondage 13.

Location. On Theátrou Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations.

Comments. Votive deposits suggest cult activity in the area.

Argos. Raptis Plot: Between Odhós Feídhonos and Roússou ***A-10-44***
Daux 1961, 675.
Alexandri 1962, 93.

Greek Name. ΡΑΠΤΗΣ, Οδός Φείδωνος/Ρούσσου

City map reference. Square 24. Sondage 75.

Location. Between Feídhonos and Emm. Roússou Streets.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1960.

Features. Nine tombs dating from the geometric to the hellenistic period were found here (Alexandri 1962, 93). One was archaic and had a funerary vase holding two skulls on the outside of the tomb (Daux 1961, 675; Alexandri 1962, 93).

Finds. One tomb contained about thirty-five bf vases, of which one depicts Apollo. The tomb with the funerary vase held a Corinthian pyxis (Daux 1961, 675; Alexandri 1962, 93).

Argos. Plati-Zisi-Diamanti-Xixi Plot: Odhós Danaoù 27

A-10-45

French 1993, 16.

Onasoglou 1990, 88.

Greek Name. ΠΛΑΤΗ, Γ., ΖΗΣΗ, Γ., ΞΙΕΗ, Δ., ΔΙΑΜΑΝΤΗ, Η., Οδός Δαναού

City map reference. Square 24. Sondage 559.

Location. Part of the Public School (Δημοτικό Σχολείο), at 27 Danaού Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1986.

Finds. The lower levels of the excavation produced the following: a late archaic/early classical deposit with over 2000 painted kyathoi and an (sacred ?) amphora inscribed *ροσαν* or *ροσαμ* (French 1993, 16).

Comments. Deposits of this size presumably come from a shrine.

Argos. Tsouloukhas Plot: Danaoù 59

A-10-46

Kritzas 1979, 220.

Greek Name. ΤΣΟΥΛΟΥΧΑΣ, ΑΘ., Οδός Δαναού 59

City map reference. Squares 24 and 30. Sondage 244.

Location. At 59 Danaού Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973.

Finds. Archaic pottery was found, including a late archaic Corinthian pithos with animal zones and sphinxes.

Piteros 1996, 99-100.

Greek Name. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Οδός Κοφινιώτου

City map reference. Square 25.

Location. On Kofiniótou Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1991.

Features. An archaic burial pithos, 1 m by 0.70 m, was found here.

A fifth century well was excavated in the south part of the plot.

Another well was found with a huge amount of sherds from late eighth to early seventh centuries. These sherds were wastes from an archaic kiln nearby.

Finds. Outside the *pithos* they found a miniature hand-made prochous.

The sherds from the well will be important in establishing a good pottery sequence for the archaic period.

Comments. This was an area of ceramic workshops.

Dheílaki 1977, 121.

Foley 1988, 213.

Greek Name. ΣΤΡΑΓΚΑ, Οδός Αγ. Γεωργίου

City map reference. Square 28. Sondage 210.

Location. At 3 Ayíou Yeoryíou Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found two archaic pithos burials and a third grave with an archaic and hellenistic phase. The offerings all belong to the hellenistic reuses.

Comments. The use of archaic *pithoi* for hellenistic burials is well known.

Kritzas 1979, 219.

Touchais 1980, 596.

Greek Name. Δήμος (έργα Ο.Τ.Ε.), Αγ. Γεωργίου

City map reference. Square 28. Sondage 242.

Location. On Ayíou Yeoryíou Street, close to number 4.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973, when OTE was digging trenches for their cables.

Features. A late archaic tomb was covered by two slabs and was 1.7 m deep with a pebble floor. The skeleton was lying with its head to the west.

Finds. Inside the tomb they found a krateriskos.

Argos. Bouboureka Plot: Odhós Ayíou Yeoryíou 44 **A-10-50**
Banaka-Dhimaki 1996, 88-89.

Greek Name. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΡΕΚΑ, Γ., Οδός Αγ. Γεωργίου 44

City map reference. Square 28. Sondage 352.

Location. At Ayíou Yeoryíou Street 44.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1991.

Features. Graves of the sixth century were found here.

Comments. This area was in constant use from geometric to roman times.

Argos. South-west of Odeon: Public School Number 5 **A-10-51**
EF 1957, 683.
Daux 1967b, 808, 817, 825.
EFA 1968, 192-194.
Courbin 1974, 146.
Foley 1988, 208.

Greek Name. Δημοτικό Σχολείο (5), Πάροδος Αγ. Γεωργίου

City map reference. Square 28. Sondage 412.

Location. At the foot of the Larisa in the area of the public square, east of Kypséli, about 150 m south-west of the odeon.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1966-1981.

Features. A seventh century pithos burial was found here with several others, all empty. One held the bones of an infant.

The excavators found two tombs, without offerings, but which dated to the beginning of the sixth century (Daux 1967b, 817).

To the east many bronze age levels had been destroyed by a dense cemetery dating from the archaic to the hellenistic period. Over fifty graves had been used continuously from the geometric to the hellenistic period. A cist grave (T 223) was found dating to the early sixth century. It had been opened and reused, and in later times was

cut in two by a hellenistic wall. The grave goods belong to the first inhumation. Tomb 248 was also a pit, but it had been protected by three slabs, and held a child's skeleton with offerings inside and outside the tomb. Another burial, pithos T 225, contained three skeletons. A simple pit without cover slabs (T 228) contained a skeleton and two offerings with an interesting association.

Finds. Many sherds from all periods, including archaic, were recovered from the tombs. T 223 included eight miniature vases (skyphos of the mid-Corinthian period, see Daux 1967b, fig. 24), a shallow bronze bowl, four iron horse bits, and a pair of iron sandals. Pithos T 225 had a Corinthian alabaster (Daux 1967b, fig. 27). Tomb 228 contained a pyxis and a rf Attic lekythos of about 460 (Daux 1967b, fig. 28). Tomb 248 included three cups with feet, an amphoriskos, a miniature krater, a skyphos, and a cup (Daux 1967b, figs. 29-30). At the same spot the excavators also found an archaic layer and recovered a fragment of bf pottery with incised heads of horses (Daux 1967b, 808).

Argos. Symeonidhis Plot: Odhós Menándrou and Polyneíous

A-10-52

Spathari 1996, 93-95.

Greek Name. ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, Οδός Μενάνδρου/Πολυνείους

City map reference. Square 28.

Location. At the corner of Menándrou and Polyneíous Streets, 400 m south of the south slopes of Larisa, north of national gym.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1990-91.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found more than seventy graves of the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries in this area.

Cist graves with multiple burials were dated from the end of the sixth century to the hellenistic period.

Burials in urn-type graves were found facing east-west; they date to the end of the sixth century.

Finds. Several late sixth century grave offerings were found in the cist and urn burials. Archaic vases were found mixed in with hellenistic burials.

Comments. The area was used as a cemetery from late archaic to late hellenistic times (see next two entries, North of National Gym and Orphanage at Ayía Sotíra). The variety and richness of the offerings reflect the socio-economic situation of the inhabitants of Argos at this time.

Argos. North of National Gym

A-10-53

Kharitonidhes 1968, 128-130.

Krystalli 1968, 172.

Protonotariou-Dheïlaki 1972a, 155.

Dheïlaki-Protonotariou 1974, 78-79.

Hägg 1974, 143.

Courbin 1977b, 327.

Foley 1988, 213.

Greek Name. Εθνικό Γυμναστήριο Άργους, ΝΔ. της πόλης

City map reference. Squares 28 and 35. Sondage 104.

Location. In the same area as the Frangos Plot, north of the National Gym and north-west of the city centre.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1965-1987.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found two seventh century *pithos* burials as well as a fifth century *cist* grave.

Finds. In the grave were *bg* *pots*, one of which was inscribed with a *graffito* to *εχικία*.

Argos. At Ayía Sotíra

A-10-54

Aslamantizidhou-Kostourou 1990, 178-193.

Greek Name. Αγ. Σωτήρα

City map reference. Not on map.

Location. At the old people's home (or the orphanage ?) at Ayía Sotíra and in the south part of Árgos, close to the road to Trípolis, which follows the ancient road to Tegea.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. An archaic *grave* made from *poros* slabs held the body of a dead person and the body of a child, which was inserted at a later time.

Finds. In the first grave they found eighteen Attic, thirty-seven Corinthian (small *kotylai*, *pyxides* and *tripods*), and a few Argive *pots* of the late sixth and early fifth centuries. The Attic ware was mass produced *bg* pottery; one shows a scene of Herakles and Hephaistos. The Argive ware was locally made with simple plant decoration in red or white. One *pyxis* was from Laconia, but was a copy of a Corinthian type. The mid-fifth century vase probably belonged to the later child burial. Apparently two early pots were family *heirlooms*.

This grave also contained many *figurines* of the seventh and sixth centuries.

Argos. Bakaloyiannis Plot: South of Baths

A-10-55

EF 1954, 162-164; 1956b, 366-376.

Courbin 1956a, 183-218; 1974, 52; 1977b, 327.

Foley 1988, 201.

Greek Name. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ, Γ. Δ., Νότια των Λουτρών

City map reference. Square 29. Sondage 54.

Location. South of the bath complex.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1953.

Features. Two cylindrical *pithoi* of the seventh century were found here.

Finds. Under a classical road (6) were found archaic remains of pottery, probably coming from the foundation trenches of an older wall (Courbin 1956a, 204-207, figs. 22-23, 26-27).

A hellenistic well in this area contained geometric and archaic pottery, including an Argive krater of the seventh century, fragments of rf pottery, and remains of two Attic bell kraters of the second quarter of the fifth century, one of which was painted by Hermonax and shows the Minotaur fighting Theseus with a young girl (Ariadne ?) standing there ready to crown the victor (EF 1956b, 370-372, fig. 18).

Under a foundation trench of a hellenistic wall was found a Corinthian *pithos* with stamped decoration (lion, lioness, bird, and griffin).

Argos. Kouros Plot: Odhós Tripóleos 11

A-10-56

Alexandri 1965, 60.

Daux 1963a, 748-751.

Touchais 1977, 549.

Greek Name. ΚΟΥΡΟΣ, Π., Οδός Τριπόλεως

City map reference. Square 29. Sondage 82.

Location. South of the ancient theatre, parallel to 11 Tripóleos Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1962.

Features. A fifth century grave (14) was discovered here, which was part of a series of graves discovered in the area. This grave was 175 cm long, oriented north-south, and contained two disturbed skeletons with heads facing north.

Finds. Many finds were recovered from the grave, including seven late Corinthian *pyxides*, seven Corinthian *kotylai*, an Attic vessel, three Argive copies of Attic and

Corinthian imports, a *kylix*, a *lekythos*, and various *figurines*. The *kotylai* date the grave to the late fifth century; however, many *figurines* are earlier in date.

Argos. Bonoris Plot: Odhós Tripóleos 7b

A-10-57

Kharitonidhes 1968, 127-128.

Kritzas 1979, 230-242.

Touchais 1980, 590-618.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 605.

Greek Name. ΜΠΙΟΝΩΡΗΣ, Οδός Τριπόλεως 7β

City map reference. Square 29. Sondage 87.

Location. At 7b Tripóleos Street, now in the courtyard of the Fifth Ephorate for Byzantine Antiquities.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1965-1973.

Features. Beneath a roman imperial house with mosaic floors lay a fifth century *poros* structure, which may be a shrine or an altar (Touchais 1980, 599).

Finds. The excavators found a large votive deposit, including *figurines*, *wreaths*, *spools*, stamped *loom-weights*, *kotylai*, and other *pottery* (Touchais 1980, 599). A sherd was inscribed *he[ρας εμι ?]*

Some blocks of the fifth century structure had mason's marks on them. Lion-head *simas* and other architectural features were also found.

Comments. The area was sacred by the early archaic period (seventh century), and the structure was perhaps the sanctuary of Hera Antheia, in, or close to, the *agora* (Foley 1988, 141; Hall [J.] 1995a, 605).

Argos. Palaiologos Plot: Párodhos Tripóleos

A-10-58

EF 1955b, 312.

Daux 1967b, 802.

Greek Name. ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ, Χρ., Πάραδος Τριπόλεως

City map reference. Square 29. Sondage 106.

Location. In Su 74, near Kypseli Square.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1966.

Features. The excavators found a terracotta conduit dating to the archaic period (Daux 1967b, 808).

EF 1955b, 312; 1957, 677.

Daux 1967b, 812, 826.

Bommelaer et al. 1970, 766.

Bommelaer, Croissant, and Grandjean 1971, 736, 740.

Bommelaer and Grandjean 1972, 155-228.

Hägg 1974, 144.

Courbin 1974, 123; 1977b, 327.

Foley 1988, 205-206.

Strøm 1998, 85.

Greek Name. Δήμος (Πλατεία Κυψέλης), Συνοικισμός

City map reference. Square 29. Sondages 133, 149 and 151.

Location. South-west of the ancient *agora*, in the South Quarter, formerly called the Refugee Quarter, to the north-west of the modern cemetery of the Trípolis road.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1969-1970.

Features. Around 700, or in the first decades of the seventh century, a building was excavated near walls U and AU. The dimensions of this building, the care given to its construction, and the large blocks used, assure us that this was an important structure. Its socle was found *in situ*; over it was perhaps a mudbrick construction, which may have had a roof.

Wells and seventh century tombs (T.315, 318, 319) are probably associated with this building (Bommelaer and Grandjean 1972, 226). Some seven other seventh century tombs were found in this area. Four of these were in pithoi, two were in other types of funerary jars, one was in a pit, and two (late seventh century ones) were actually poros graves.

Finds. Along the north side of wall U and between this wall and wall C, they found many pots in fragmentary state: lipped cups (inv. C.23536, 23529, 24041), other fragments of vases of unknown shape, an inscription, *εις*, on a fragment of a lip (inv.70/271), a local bg cup (inv. C.26582), krateriskos fragments (inv.70/287), and spools (inv. C.26558) (Bommelaer and Grandjean 1972, 178, figs. 26, 28-32).

One of the *pithoi* (T 318) contained a pitcher. The two *poros* graves had pins wrapped in gold leaves, fragments of a terracotta plaque, and four early Corinthian pots.

Comments. The building was identified as a small shrine, with a ceramic workshop nearby.

Touchais 1978, 664.

Kritzas 1976, 195.

Greek Name. Δήμος (έργα υδρεύσης), Πάροδος Τριπόλεως

City map reference. Square 29. Sondage 164.

Location. Near the theatre and the *agora*, on one side of Tripóleos Street, across from number 6a.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1971.

Features. The excavators found one archaic tomb here and a grave monument in *poros* dating to the end of the sixth century.

Finds. The monument covered secondary inhumations and was filled with an abundance of ceramic material (Touchais 1978, fig. 49). The tomb had eleven pyxides with lids and two kyathiskoi.

Kritzas 1977, 132-134.

Touchais 1978, 644.

Foley 1988, 218.

Pariente 1992, 205.

Antonaccio 1995, 212-213.

Greek Name. ΚΑΝΕΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Ι., Οδός Τριπόλεως 26

City map reference. Square 29. Sondage 187.

Location. In the south sector of the city, at 26 Tripóleos Street, east of the south cemetery.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1972.

Features. A child grave of unspecified type, dated to the late seventh-early sixth centuries was found here (Kritzas 1977, 132).

The most important remains were that of a rectangular sekos made of excellently cut and fitted limestone *poros* blocks, whose north wall was set over a plaque covering a geometric tomb. The floor was paved with *poros* chips and had small pits or holes into which were inserted skulls and other bones, as well as dedications transported from primary burials elsewhere. One skull was found inside a pot. The construction dates to the late sixth century (Kritzas 1977, 132).

Finds. A large amount of pottery (about 150 vessels) was recovered, and of good quality Corinthian, Attic, and bg local ware. Kotylai were the most common, though there were

also many *pyxides*, Attic *lekythoi*, Corinthian *oinochoai* and *skyphoi*, Attic *kylikes* with scenes of Herakles wrestling a lion, and a Corinthian *plate* with Herakles fighting Triton. Many *lamps*, *bone pins*, bronze *blades*, drilled *knucklebones*, iron *handles*, *shield straps*, and fittings for the soles of boots or heavy *sandals* were found between the skulls. Also found were *plates*, *hoofs of animals*, *marble figurines*, and a terracotta *male* with lyre (Kritzas 1977, 132-133, pls. 116, 118, 119-120).

Comments. This area became the focus of a cult in the late sixth century. It was probably where young warriors were buried. The structure is unique for Argos. It has been identified as a *heroön*, dating from the mid-sixth century (Pariante 1992, 205).

Argos. Kotsomyti Plot: Odhós Tripóleos 19

A-10-62

Kritzas 1979, 212-249, esp. 226.

Touchais 1980, 596.

Greek Name. ΚΩΤΣΟΜΥΤΗ, Π., Οδός Τριπόλεως 19

City map reference. Square 29. Sondage 238.

Location. At 19 Tripóleos Street on the road to Trípolis, in front of Kypseli Square, opposite the Kanellopoulou Plot.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973.

Finds. Under hellenistic remains was found votive material of the late archaic period, including *sherds* and *figurines*.

Comments. The votive material suggests the existence of a *cult place* close-by, but the area could not be excavated because of the modern buildings.

Argos. Florou Plot: Párodhos Theátrou 12

A-10-63

Kritzas 1979, 212-217.

Foley 1988, 210.

Barakari-Gleni and Pariante 1998, 166.

Strøm 1998, 85.

Greek Name. ΦΛΩΡΟΥ, Ευ., Πάροδος Θεάτρου 12

City map reference. Square 29. Sondage 239.

Location. On Párodhos Theátrou, at number 12.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973-1975.

Features. In the south part of the excavation, the Greek Archaeological Service found an archaic level of hard soil and pebbles that is probably an ancient road used in classical and hellenistic times, if not before (Kritzas 1979, 214).

Finds. A archaic bronze phiale was found in a tomb here.

Argos. Aphrodision: South Quarter

A-10-64

Daux 1968, 1021-1039; 1969, 966.

EFA 1969, 143-144; 1970, 122; 1979, 259-261.

Bommelaer, Croissant, and Grandjean 1971, 745-747.

Croissant 1972, 137-154.

Croissant and Aupert 1973, 475-500.

Croissant, Aupert, and Piérart 1974, 759-782.

Croissant et al. 1975, 696-699.

Coulton 1976.

Croissant 1983.

Foley 1988, 141.

Piérart and Touchais 1996, 53.

City map reference. Square 29.

Location. Over an area of middle helladic habitation in the South Quarter of the city, south of the odeon.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. The visible temple dates to the late fifth century, but the remains of a small roughly worked foundation probably belong to an earlier temple or altar. These foundations were incorporated into those of the classical temple that followed it around the middle of the fifth century. The original temple was a small building, 13.4 m x 6.2 m, comprised of a *pronaos in antis* and a *cella* (Daux 1968, 1021-1039; Piérart and Touchais 1996, 53). Two of the foundation blocks of the east façade of the earlier temple's *pronaos* had mason's mark: E and N (Daux 1969, 966, fig. 15).

A rectangular terrace about 9 m was built around the earlier temple. It must have followed an ancient orientation, probably that of the road, which came from the *agora* (Croissant et al. 1975, 609). The terrace was partly destroyed by the fifth century construction of the new temple, yet it was also partly preserved, at least to the east, as a landing for access to the main façade of this temple (Daux 1968, 1000-1002; Piérart and Touchais 1996, 53).

A rectangular altar also belongs to the period of the old temple. It measures 1.75 m wide and 6 m long, and is located a few metres in front of the east façade of the temple.

It was built on a terrace and both constructions have been dated to the mid-sixth century (EFA 1970, 122).

In the sanctuary of Aphrodite are the remains of a late sixth century stoa, similar to the one built on the akropolis at Sparta, which is more firmly dated to the sixth century. It is a one-aisled stoa facing north-east, with a length over 20 m and a depth of about 4.30 m. The foundation slabs for a colonnade and a terrace wall to retain the floor and carry the rear wall are visible.

To the north of the sanctuary the excavators found part of an archaic wall made out of the same material as the stoa wall. It was parallel to the roman *peribolos* wall cleared in 1973 on the south side of the staircase to the *Aliaia*. The archaic wall must have served both as the north limit of the *temenos* and as the retaining wall for the staircase to the *Aliaia* (EFA 1979, 261).

Finds. Discarded offerings from the temple of Aphrodite include miniature vases and figurines from the mid-sixth to the end of the fifth century. The figurines and the miniature vases are similar to those found at the Heraion and at Perakhora: votive cups with or without handles, *krateriskoi*, *oinochoai*, and miniature amphorae (Daux 1968, 1025-1029, figs. 11, 16, 18-23; and 1969, 996, figs. 19-27; EFA 1969, 143-144; and 1970, 122, pl. 112b; Croissant 1983, pls. 123, 129-133, 141, 143).

The pottery reflects the activity of the Attic and especially Corinthian workshops of the second half of the fifth century: *oinochoai*, *skyphoi*, *kalathoi*, miniature lekythoi are the most common shapes. The sixth century is less well represented in the pottery, though one of the most important pieces is a sixth century rf Attic stamnos with an inscription to Aphrodite [ανε]θεκε ταφε[ο]δ[ι]ται. The name of the goddess was also found on four more sherds, making the identity of the sanctuary very certain (Daux 1968, 1027-1028, fig. 15).

Terracotta figurines of females and animals were the most numerous offerings, the majority of which seem to have been produced in local Argive workshops (Foley 1988, 141).

Metal objects were extremely scarce here, in sharp contrast to the Heraion. These include a bronze phiale and mirror and a miniature gold figurine of the mid-fifth century. There was also a great number of bronze and terracotta rings found here (Daux 1968, 1028-1030, figs. 16, 22-3, 25; and 1969, 996-1012, figs. 20, 28, 23; EFA 1969, 143-144).

Under the *pronaos* of the fifth century temple was found a small foundation deposit consisting of miniature vases and figurines, dating back to the early sixth or late

seventh century. These offerings probably come from the destruction of an earlier temple (EFA 1970, 122).

In an area near the stoa a considerable quantity of sherds, miniature vases, and figurines were apparently discarded after a cleaning operation in the sanctuary. The lot can be dated to the last quarter of the sixth century, with older pieces, one of which is the interesting series of moulded lead miniature figurines (Croissant and Aupert 1973, 476-479, figs. 5-8). More lead figurines were found in following years (Croissant, Aupert, and Piérart 1974, 761; EFA 1979, 259).

Comments. All these offerings prove the existence of a previous cult in this place. If there was at the end of the seventh century already a cult building here, it must have been a simple *oikos*, isolated within scant enclosures (Daux 1969, 1002; Foley 1988, 141). Then the fifth century temple to Aphrodite was built.

The series of moulded lead figurines can be well distinguished from that of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta and could well represent the production of a local workshop.

Argos. Agora

A-10-65

Tomlinson 1972, 21-22.
Croissant et al. 1975, 705.
Kritzas 1976, 192-219.
des Courtils 1981, 607, 899.
Aupert et al. 1982, 640.
Piérart et al. 1984, 845; 1987, 585-591, 605.
Touchais 1986, 688.
Pariente et al. 1986, 764.
Catling 1986, 26; 1987, 18.
Aupert 1987, 511-517.
Piérart and Thalmann 1990, 97.
Piérart and Thalmann 1992, 125.
Pariente 1992, 218.
Marchetti 1994, 136-137.
Piérart and Touchais 1996, 47-51.
Piteros 1998, 198.
Pariente, Piérart, and Thalmann 1998, 212.
Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 166.

City map reference. Square 29.

Location. Across the street from the site of the theatre, south-east of the large stoa, in sector alpha.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. A large canal (EA), descending from the north to the roman gate on the Tsiramenes Plot, was the first construction in the *agora* at the end of the archaic period; it

permitted the drainage of a huge zone prone to floods. It was oriented north-south, open-aired, paved, and over 4 m wide and about 1.3 m to 1.5 m deep. Its east wall was exposed to a length of about 8 m (in squares BE/BF 95). It was built in rough polygonal masonry. To the south the canal passed about 30 m to the east of the zone that marks Building L. In later times it was covered over and expanded (Piérart and Touchais 1996, 50-1).

The remains of its low-triglyph altar, of the mid-fifth century, and blocks from an entablature of a Doric building that was part of the sanctuary have been found in later constructions, but not the temple itself. This building must be towards the north, from where come the most ancient remains of the *agora* (Piérart and Touchais 1996, 47-48).

In Square BB 81, under the roman sewers, they found archaic buildings (Piérart and Thalmann 1990, 97). Within the North Stoa as found another level containing archaic buildings (houses ?).

Under the classical stoa, they found remains of archaic settlement (?), which had previously been identified in a neighbouring area (Catling 1986, 26; Piérart and Thalmann 1990, 97).

In Square BG 84 the excavators found traces of an ancient road (known as north road or Theatre road) linking the south part of the *agora* with the Aphrodision and the theatre-*Aliaia* 'à gradins droits'.

Finds. An interesting find from the area of the earlier terrace wall includes a series of small lead weights, marked with various letters (Piérart et al. 1987, 591; Catling 1987, 18; Piérart and Thalmann 1992, 125). At the foot of the terrace wall was found an ostrakon for *Αλξανδρος* of about 460-450 (Touchais 1986, 688; Catling 1986, 26; Piérart and Thalmann 1990, 97).

The destruction layer at the limit of these sectors (84-85) yielded many bg vases, of which one was an Attic bg cup of 480-460 inscribed on its foot εἰς[ξην ?] το ηεϛ[ο]ς (Piérart et al. 1987, fig. 7; Catling 1987, fig. 22). A similar graffito was found in the theatre excavations (see, EF 1956a, 387, fig. 45). Three inscribed lead strips, one of which refers to straw and fodder recalling the commercial activities of this part of the *agora*, were also recovered in the excavation. Other weights and lead strips were found in layer 7, and they too must come from these archaic levels (Piérart et al. 1987, 591; Catling 1987, 18, fig. 23).

Comments. The overall material has led the archaeologists to conclude that this is not an habitation area but one belonging to the archaic agora (Piérart et al. 1987, 530, 591; Catling 1987, 18).

The orientation of the walls follows two principal directions, which the classical and hellenistic remains also follow. It is thus clear that the major topographic directions of the *agora* were fixed before being set up in the classical period (Pariente, Piérart, and Thalmann 1998, 213).

The canal did not cut in two the *agora* but simply marked its eastern limit.

The discovery of the Attic cup with an inscription to a hero suggests the existence of a heroic cult place in the zone of the South Stoa (Pariente 1992, 218 n.171; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 166 n12). The votive material, ostrakon (?), weights, and lead strips suggest that a zone of public or administrative buildings was annexed to the *agora* as early as the archaic period (Pariente, Piérart, and Thalmann 1998, 213). They formed the southern limit of this public space from the seventh century onwards.

It seems that the roman planning of the doorway near the terrace of Apollo (Bommelaer et al. 1970, 788-793) is a metamorphoses of a monumental archaic entrance way to the *agora* that existed since archaic times. This archaic entrance gave access to all those who entered the city by the actual Theátrou Street, or who, coming from the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus to the north, followed the terrace of Apollo Lykios from the east (Marchetti 1994, 138).

The triangle that is formed by the north wall of the hypostyle wall and the west side of the terrace of Apollo must correspond to the place delta, as Aupert (1987, 513) originally proposed.

The present state of excavations show that the *agora* did not have a square or rectangular shape but had that of an irregular polygonal (Piteros 1998, 198). The excavations have exposed only (1.5 hectares of) the north-west sector of the original *agora* (6 hectares).

Vollgraff 1907, 177; 1920, 219-226.

EF 1953b, 244-248.

Cook [J.] 1953b, 108-130.

Roux 1953, 116-123.

Tomlinson 1972, 22.

Aupert et al. 1976, 754.

des Courtils 1981, 607-610.

Piérart et al. 1984, 845-846.

Aupert 1987, 511-512, 585-588.

Pariente, Aupert, and Moretti [J.-C.] 1988, 708-709; 1989, 702.

des Courtils 1992, 249.

Marchetti 1994, 134.

Bommelaer and des Courtils 1994.

Piérart and Touchais 1996, 48-49.

Pariente, Piérart, and Thalmann 1998, 213.

City map reference. Square 29.

Location. Between the theatre area and the city centre.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. The building is about 32.65 m square, whose roof is held by sixteen equidistant Ionic columns resting on square bases. The façade, facing east, is in the Doric order with fifteen bays *in antis*. It was parallel to the axis formed by the ancient road that ran along the modern Goúnari/Tripóleos from Korinthos to Tegea.

Comments. This building is the most ancient monument so far explored in the *agora*. It dates to the second half of the fifth century. In plan it is similar but smaller than the council hall at Sikyon. Some see it as functioning as a bouleuterion for the city (des Courtils 1992, 249); others see it as the sanctuary of Artemis Peitho (Paus. 2.21.1; Aupert 1987, 515-516). It also appears ideally situated to be a commemorative monument of Danaos (Marchetti 1994, 134).

Its erection in the 460s coincides with the installation of a democracy at Argos and is thus part of the building activity that took place between 460 and 440 (Piérart and Touchais 1996, 48-49).

Roux 1953, 116-123.

EF 1953b, 243-263.

Aupert et al. 1976, 754.

des Courtils 1981, 607-610.

Bommelaer and des Courtils 1994, 60-68.

Piteros 1998, 198.

City map reference. Square 29.

Locations. Between the theatre area and the city centre.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. The fragments of an early fifth century Doric building were found in the hypostyle room. This building is one of the most complete ones found so far in the *agora*, but its location remains unknown (EF 1953b, 248, 250, 253).

Finds. The fragments of the Doric building include seven architrave blocks, about fifty blocks of the frieze and about eighty drip-stones. The architrave blocks (two complete ones) were stuccoed with care. Their detail and dimension, just as with those of the frieze blocks and the drip-stones, point to the existence of a colonnade. The architrave blocks have holes for bronze nails, which suggest that inscribed bronze plaques were attached to the façade of the building, for public display. The building may have been destroyed during the levelling of the *agora* or its blocks were transported to a neighbouring sanctuary.

Above the foundation of a wall near the hypostyle room the excavators found a layer, poor in pottery, but containing a few fifth century bg sherds (Aupert et al. 1976, 754).

Comments. The architectural fragments come from the temple of Apollo Lykios, now thought to be situated in the south-east corner of the *agora* (Piteros 1998, 198). Part of the evidence for this sanctuary rests in an inscribed fifth century altar found in the north-west part of the *agora* (Roux 1953, 119-123; des Courtils 1981, 607-610).

Croissant, Aupert, and Piérart 1974, 761.

EFA 1979, 259-261.

City map reference. Square 29.

Location. About 26 m east of the hypostyle hall.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Features. The excavators uncovered a late sixth century stoa. It probably had a *poros* colonnade. The structure and dimensions of the stoa may never be fully known. So far, to judge from the foundations, the minimum number of columns amounts to ten. The only column that may have belonged to the stoa was found reused in a roman building; it was a fragment of an unfluted drum.

Comments. The stoa must have been part of the programme designed to enlarge the sanctuary.

Argos. Koros Plot: Odhós Atréos and Párodhos Theátrou **A-10-69**

Dheĩlaki 1977, 119; 1979, 208-209.

Touchais 1978, 644; 1980, 596.

Consolaki and Hackens 1980, 279-294.

Greek Name. ΚΩΡΟΣ, Σ., Οδός Ατρέως

City map reference. Squares 29 and 30. Sondage 232.

Location. At Atréos Street and Párodhos Theátrou, on the east side of the *agora*.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972-1973.

Features. During the excavation of the classical temple discovered on Atréos Street, architectural elements dating from the mid-fifth century were found.

The ancient road that passes through the Florou Plot continues here.

Finds. An important archaic inscription was found reused as a boundary stone of the roman *agora*.

Archaic pottery and mudbrick were found in the layers under the classical temple.

Comments. This was an area of cult activity in the archaic period, and perhaps also the area of an archaic sanctuary (Consolaki and Hackens 1988, 282). Dheĩlaki (1977, 119) proposes to see this area as the sanctuary to Hera Antheia or Demeter Pelasgia, but Touchais (1978, 789-790) believes that this is the place where Athena Salpix was worshipped. The attribution is founded on a nearby inscription mentioning the goddess.

Argos. Sirouni Plot: Párodhos Theátrou 5 **A-10-70**

Dheĩlaki 1977, 113.

Greek Name. ΣΙΡΟΥΝΗ, Α., Πάροδος Θεάτρου 5

City map reference. Square 30. Sondage 201.

Location. On Párodhos Theátrou, at number 5.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1972.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found a burial pot here together with remains from archaic to Christian times.

Finds. A small krater was found inside the grave.

Argos. Kotsiantis Plot: Párodhos Danaoú

A-10-71

Kritzas 1979, 222.

Greek Name. ΚΩΤΣΙΑΝΤΗΣ, Χρ., Πάροδος Δαναού

City map reference. Square 30. Sondage 246.

Location. On Párodhos Danaoú, in the north-east part of the town.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973.

Finds. The Greek Archaeological Service found many archaic sherds and figurines at geometric levels. In a pit about 5 m deep they found seated and standing female figurines, horse-riders with shields, and animals figurines, together with animal bone and horns of sheep and deer.

Comments. The deposit made them think that this was a cult place since at least the geometric period. Perhaps Hera and some hero were worshipped here, or possibly even Aphrodite and Ares.

Argos. Maniati Plot: Odhós Atréos

A-10-72

Kritzas 1979, 212-214.

Foley 1988, 142.

Greek Name. ΜΑΝΙΑΤΗ, Β., Οδός Ατρέως

City map reference. Square 30. Sondage 249.

Location. On Atréos Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973.

Comments. The area shows signs of cult activity in archaic times.

Argos. Tsoukriani Plot: Corner of Odhós Atréos and Danaoú

A-10-73

Kritzas 1979, 228.

Greek Name. ΤΣΟΥΓΚΡΙΑΝΗ, Κ., Οδός Ατρέως/Δαναού

City map reference. Square 30. Sondage 251.

Location. On the corner of Atréos and Danaoù Streets.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1973.

Finds. Above the geometric layers was found archaic votive material, including twelve figurines with some fragments of females, horse-riders, birds, and other animals.

Comments. Probably the area was a geometric cemetery, where worshipping went on until the end of the hellenistic period. The votive deposit testifies to the presence of cult activity.

Argos. Pouli Plot: Corner of Odhós Atréos and Danaoù

A-10-74

Morou 1988, 110.

Greek Name. ΠΟΥΛΗ, Δ. και Π., Οδός Ατρέως/Δαναού

City map reference. Square 30. Sondage 295.

Location. At the corner of Atréos and Danaoù Streets.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1981.

Finds. An archaic level containing sherds was found here.

Comments. Perhaps there are archaic tombs in the area.

Argos. Foustoukos Plot: Odhós Kaváfi and Messinías-Arkadhías

A-10-75

Piteros 1996, 100-102.

Greek Name. ΦΟΥΣΤΟΥΚΟΣ, Οδός Κανάφη/Μεσσηνίας-Αρκαδίας

City map reference. Square 31.

Location. Kaváfi Street and Párodhos Messinías-Arkadías.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1991.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service found the bottom part of a late archaic/early classical kiln (dia. 50 cm).

Argos. Fragkou Plot: Across National Gym

A-10-76

Kharitonidhes 1968, 128-130.

Krystalli 1968, 172.

Papakhistodhoulou 1970a, 110-111.

Michaud 1971, 867.

Greek Name. ΦΡΑΓΚΟΥ, Δ., ΝΑ. του Εθν. Γυμναστ.

City map reference. Square 35. Sondage 131.

Location. North-east of the National Gym (Stadium).

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1965-1968.

Finds. The Greek Archaeological Service found graves dating from the classical and hellenistic period. With the graves there was an archaic inscription on a stele *in situ*. The name inscribed was *hα|γεη|δος*, the genitive of Hagesis.

Argos. South of Cemetery: Virgin Mary Chapel

A-10-77

EF 1953b, 258, 260, 263; 1954, 180, 183; 1955b, 312-314.

Cook [J.] 1953b, 108-130.

Beazley 1956, 213.

Leekley and Noyes 1976, 58.

Foley 1988, 212.

Greek Name. Νεκροταφείο Παναγίας, Δ.-ΝΔ. του νεκροταφείο

City map reference. Square 36. Sondages 50 and 52.

Location. West of the *agora*, of the actual south cemetery, and of the chapel of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary.

Excavation. French School excavations, 1952-1953.

Features. A cemetery ranging from bronze age to roman times with particularly important protogeometric and geometric burials was excavated. The excavators found three small archaic pithos burial, intact, closed by a tile, and oriented east-west. They date to the seventh century (EF 1953b, fig. 56).

The excavators also found a non-stratified well near the house of the Refugees (EF 1955b, 312).

Finds. On one grave was laid an Attic cup of the late sixth century and an Argive bf cup decorated with two dancing satyrs on the inside. An identical cup, intact, was found inside the *pithos*, with two pyxides, one of its lids, a krater, and two miniature skyphoi dating to the end of the sixth century (EF 1953b, fig. 57).

Among the other discoveries here were number of Corinthian lekythoi and pyxides, several rf sherds from hydriai, bell-kraters, an italiote fragment, and a fragment

of krater in apulian ‘chalice’. Two masks of female divinities were also recovered. Many lamps of all types were found in all the sondages, of which one is decorated with the episode of Odysseus and Sirens (EF 1954, 180, 183).

The well contained much local pottery dating from the end of the seventh century (EF 1955b, 312, fig. 7).

Argos. Odhós Míaouli

A-10-78

Psykhoyiou 1997, 90.

Greek Name. Οδός Μιαουλή

City map reference. Square 37 ?

Location. On Miaoulí Street, between Mikras Asias and Platira Street.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1992.

Features. Ten graves were discovered spread throughout this area, but none has been dated to an exact period. Most of them were cist graves, but some of them were small archaic burial pithoi (T. 26, 29, and 31). One of them contained a very tall body.

Finds. Close to tombs T. 21 and T. 22 was an archaic krater. Some archaic figurines were found in a cist (either T. 25 or 27).

Argos. Lembetzi Plot: Párodhos Theátrou

A-10-79

Barakari-Gleni 1998, 271-290.

Greek Name. ΛΕΜΠΙΕΤΖΗΣ, Γ., Πάροδος Θεάτρου

City map reference. Square 37. Sondage 292.

Location. In the south-west sector of the city, between Atréos Street, Párodhos Danaού, and Párodhos Theátrou.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, 1980-1981.

Features. A cist tomb, a large deposit, and a ‘pyre’ were found. The cist tomb was found at a depth of 2.16 m. It contained the one skeleton extended with its head facing west. It was dated to the second quarter of the sixth century.

The votive deposit, 2.30 m deep and 1 m in diameter was partly covered by roman ruins. It was used from the early archaic years until the late classical period.

The ‘pyre’ was found in the south-west section of the excavation, under the remains of two hellenistic walls. It was in a 1 m by 1 m pit, about 2.10 to 2.27 m in depth. There were remains of burnt wood, bones, and earth together with many sherds.

Foundations of a large structure, probably a house, date from the archaic period.

Finds. Seven Attic vases were deposited on the tomb. One was a bf kylix, Siana type (MA 5977), with a scene of Theseus and the Minotaur on one side, and of two hoplites fighting on the other. It was dated to about 560. Another vase (a lydian MA 6104) was lying beside the body's right shoulder. An alabaster (MA 6105) was found by the body's right hand, together with a Corinthian kotyle (MA 6106) by its right knee, and two unpainted lekythoi (MA 6107 a-b).

About sixteen Attic bg and bf vases (a krater, eleven kylikes, a lekythos, two oinochoai, and a cup) were associated with the archaic levels of the 'pyre', including a bg krateriskos with Gorgon heads painted in the handle in the tradition of local Argive krateriskoi, which were mainly found in Kourτάκι and unpublished votive deposits in Argos.

In the deposit was found Attic and Corinthian pottery, including a Corinthian skyphos, and a large number of local bg krateriskoi, all ranging in date from the beginning of the archaic period to the end of the classical. Terracotta animal figurines, bronze rings, and clay models of wheels were also found.

Comments. The 'pyre' was associated with libations in honour of the dead. They used the area for worship and burials. The large votive deposit, from the late eighth-early seventh century to the classical period, also testifies to the presence of cult activity.

Probably the grave belonged to a hoplite warrior who did well in a battle, given the subject of the kylix.

Argos. Larisa: East Slope

A-10-80

EF 1956b, 366.

Tomlinson 1972, 24-27.

Greek Name. Λάρισσα, Ανατολική πλευρά

City map reference. Square 83. Sondage 58.

Location. In an olive grove on the east slope of the Larisa.

Excavation. French School soundings, 1955.

Features. The excavators wanted to find the circuit wall, which in its south-west, north-east orientation, linked the akropolis of the Larisa to the gate of the Deíras. Only a few blocks of either the north or south circuit remained in place.

Finds. The sherds found here were unstratified and date between the middle helladic period to roman times.

Comment. Enough is left to suggest that the circuit wall here was similar to better preserved sections of its south-west flank in the Larisa, above the chapel of St.George. The date is still uncertain, but the excavators presume that the structure goes back to the sixth century.

Argos. Larisa: Summit

A-10-81

EF 1928, 476; 1955b, 314.

Vollgraff 1928a, 315-328, pls. 7-8; 1932, 369-393; 1934, 137-156; and 1956, 51-76.

Béquignon 1930, 480.

Scranton 1941, 34-35.

Roes 1953, 190-291.

Roux 1957, 474-487.

Courbin 1966, 12, 27.

Boardman 1963b, 122.

Daux 1965b, 896; 1966c, 932.

Tomlinson 1972, 24.

Foley 1988, 140-142.

Jeffery 1990, 158-159.

Billot 1992, 56.

Hägg 1992a, 11.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 605.

Greek Name. Λάρισσα (Κάστρο), ΒΑ. Γωνία

City map reference. Square 84. Sondage 86.

Location. At the summit of the Larisa.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1964-1965.

Features. In the northern half of the interior court of the Venetian fortress there are foundation walls of two temples, excavated by Vollgraff in 1928-30. The better preserved foundations, located in the north-west, are thought to be of archaic date and to belong to Athena Polias. The other foundations situated to the east may be those of Zeus Larisios.

The earliest wall on the Larisa after the mycenaean period is constructed of well-fitted limestone blocks, in a style similar to Lesbian masonry. It dates to the archaic period (Scranton 1941, 34-35).

Finds. A large deposit of votives dating to the eighth and seventh centuries was found without associated stratigraphy. Nor were any building remains excavated (Roes 1953, 90-104).

Over 300 small vases were recovered, most of them with sloppy decoration, but a few with more careful painting. Some of the latter include a krater, an oinochoe, many cups, and an important collection of Corinthian vases (*aryballoi*, *skyphoi*, *kotylai*, *pyxides*, and *kalathoi*). Also found in this deposit were hundreds of rings (some in lead), many small bronze, iron, and bone objects, a bronze and a lead figurine, and a small faïence figurine of the god Bes. The deposit dates from the mid-eighth to the mid-seventh centuries.

An important offering of a bronze plaque was found in a votive deposit on the Larisa, which Vollgraff assumed came from the sanctuary of Athena Polias.

An inscribed stele was found inserted into the south wall of the Larisa, bearing a list of nine *demiourgoi* (IG IV 614). In the east wall another inscribed block mentions the *temenos* of Athena Polias (EF 1928, 476).

Comments. Possibly the deposit belonged to one of the three sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias on the Larisa summit, especially that of Larisaian Zeus and of Athena Polias.

The plaque denotes the existence of a cult, if not a sanctuary of Enyalios. No remains have ever been found to confirm its existence on the Larisa.

Argos. Larisa: North-west Slope, North-east Corner

A-10-82

Daux 1965b, 896-897.

Greek Name. Λάρισα (Κάστρο), ΒΑ. γωνία

City map reference. Square 84. Sondage 86.

Location. On the north-west flank of the Larisa.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations, 1964-1965.

Finds. The finds included a terracotta door-mouse and three female figurines.

Argos. Kalatzis Plot: Odhós Papanikoláου

A-10-83

Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 168 n.33.

Greek Name. ΚΑΛΑΤΖΗΣ, Β., Οδός Παπανικολάου

City map reference. Sondage 596. Not on map.

Location. On Papanikoláου Street. The area was only partly excavated, because the building crosses over into the adjacent plot.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Finds. Many figurines, mostly horse-riders and some seated female figurines, were found.

Comments. This is a coroplast's workshop.

Argos. Odhós Atréos

A- 10-84

EFA 1988b, 128.

French 1990, 12.

Greek Name. Οδός Ατρέως

City map reference. Unknown.

Location. To the south on Atréos Street.

Excavation. French School rescue excavations.

Finds. On the south side of the town near the *agora*, at the corner of Atréos Street, an extensive building plot revealed continuous occupation. On stretches of the road uncovered in rescue work, geometric and archaic levels with sherds but no structures were reached at the north (French 1990, 12).

While they were doing water works on Atréos Street, the excavators made a rescue excavation and found two occupation phases: one starting from late geometric times and continuing through to classical times, and a later hellenistic phase. They found sixth century Attic pottery (EFA 1988b, 128).

A.i.b. The Argive Plain: East of Argos

Nomós Argolídhos: Eparkhía Nafplías

Mykenai (Mykínes)

A-11

Tomlinson 1972, 31-33.

Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 88-89.

Greek Name. Μυκίνας

1:50000 map reference. 22° 45' 30" E and 37° 43' 45" N.

Location. North of Argos and modern Mykínai and about 2 km east of Fíkhtia, 15 km from the sea, half hidden in a mountain glen or recess, between Mt. Áyios Ilías (750 m) on the north and Mt. Zara (600 m) on the south.

The citadel is on a dale between two bare hills.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía and British School excavations; British School survey.

Mykenai was extensively excavated since the turn of the century. The Greek Archaeological Society began work at the site in the nineteenth century, and in 1874 excavation was initiated by Schliemann and continued by Tsountas in 1886-1902. Excavations by the British School were conducted some twenty years later (1920-23, 1939, 1950) under Wace. Sporadic work on the akropolis by the Greek Archaeological Service has produced some new information about the archaic remains. Recently, the Greeks under Iakovides and the British under French have worked on a intensive survey of Mykenai; their results will appear as a publication of the Greek Archaeological Society.

Function. Habitation site: town or village ?

Comments. Ancient Mykenai has been occupied since the neolithic period, but it is famous for its bronze age palace, tombs, and grave circles. After the destructions of the late helladic IIIC the akropolis continued to exist as a small community and sanctuary. Little is known of the iron age remains, though by the late geometric period the site had become a small settlement. Remains from the historic ages include a seventh century temple on the akropolis, an apsidal temple near the House of the Oil Merchant, and two shrines about 1 km away from the citadel. The presence of so many different areas of worship in and around the citadel suggests that Mykenai may have held a more prestigious place among the archaic cites of the Argive plain than is evident from the humble nature of the archaeological remains. The settlement was destroyed by Argos in 468 and resettled in the hellenistic period.

Mykenai: The Akropolis

Schliemann 1878, 115.

Tsountas 1887, 158-172; 1888, 59-79.

Kourouniotis 1901, 18-22.

Wace 1939, 210-212; 1949, 24, 84-86; 1964, 84-87.

Holland, Hood, and Woodhead 1953, 20.

Mylonas 1966b, 131-133.

Gercke and Hiesel 1975, 7-36.

Wright 1982, 186-210, 194.

Foley 1988, 143, 190-191.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 598-600.

Klein 1997, 290.

Location. On the citadel, on top of the bronze age palace.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía and other excavations. Renewed study of the archaic temple under the British School.

Features. A small but innovative archaic sanctuary once stood here. No architectural remains belonging to this temple were found *in situ*; many were incorporated into the existing foundations of a hellenistic temple, showing that earlier constructions certainly once existed. The archaic temple was probably a small rectangular *sekos* with a pitched roof, stone geison, and walls decorated with relief sculpture. The roof design is heavily influenced by earlier developments in the region of Korinthos, especially the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia. The relief sculpture is without comparison on mainland Greece. The collective sculptural and architectural evidence points to a date in the last quarter of the seventh century for the temple (Klein 1997, 291).

Finds. An inscription found by Tsountas on the north-west of the summit of the citadel (IG 4.492) speaks of Athena. Another inscription was found in a fill above Grave Circle A. It reads: *το ηεροος εμ[ι]* on a sixth century on a bg fragment (IG 4.495). With this Schliemann reports many terracotta figurines and a small vase (Schliemann 1878, 115). Many tiles and sculptural fragments were also found, ranging in date from the early sixth century to the hellenistic period (Wace 1949, 85). The sculpture fragments seem to be reliefs from an altar, which stood to the south of the temple (Wace 1949, 85).

Votive offerings found in the north terrace-fill point to the establishment of cult in the late eighth century, but few objects dating to the archaic period were ever found. Seven bronze pins and two fibulae were found around the temple. The majority of the pins can be dated to the eighth and early seventh centuries. In addition to the pins and fibulae, bronze rings were also found around the temple's north and south terraces and in Schliemann's trial pit. Other bronzes include hooks, disks, and a handle.

Three female terracotta figurines and one animal (ox ?) statuette were discovered in the area of the temple and the south terrace (Mykenai inv. 39-22, 39-267, 39-286, Athens: NAM 7741, Náfp lion: Leonárdho Mus. 9622).

Among the fine painted wares, drinking vessels and containers are most common. Shapes include skyphoi, cups, kotylai, kantharoi, and kraters. These vessels must have been the property of the sanctuary and may have been used in ritual drinking. A few miniature pots were found, including one possible dinos, a miniature skyphos, and several bowls.

Comments. The identity of the divinity worshipped within the temple has been assumed to be either Hera or Athena. A boundary stone from the *temenos* of Hera (see below, Perseia fountain), the relief sculpture of a woman lifting a veil (Athens, NAM inv. 2869), and a few female terracotta figurines speak in favour of a cult of Hera.

The temple had little demonstrable influence on its successor at Mykenai or on other temples in the Argolid. It was damaged, if not destroyed, by the Argives in 468.

The sanctuary is built on top of an earlier settlement and in this way is paralleled by the cult at Tiryns.

Mykenai: House on the Citadel

Schliemann 1878, 115.

Daux 1965a, 715-717.

Location. In the interior side of the south sector of the Citadel wall.

Excavation. Unknown.

Finds. Although no evidence was found of any occupation between the end of the bronze age and the hellenistic period, the soil that had drifted down from the akropolis did contain a few rare geometric, archaic, and classical sherds, showing that at least some parts of the akropolis were continuously occupied after the end of the mycenaean period.

Mykenai: West of Citadel

Petrakos 1989a, 8-11.

Catling 1989, 29.

Touchais 1989, 600.

Location. Within the sector west of the citadel, above the 1972-73 building complex.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía stratigraphic tests, 1988.

Finds. Iakovides came across disturbed layers that had an archaic bronze pin and fragments of a relief pithos of the early sixth century. It was decorated with bands of bulls and confronting sphinxes (Touchais 1989, 599, fig. 29).

Comments. Probably this area was used in the archaic period.

Mykenai: Near the House of the Oil Merchant

Daux 1959a, 613.

Verdhelis 1966b, 85-87.

Drerup 1969, 28.

Foley 1988, 143-144, 190-191.

Fagerström 1988, 30.

Hägg 1992a, 16-17.

Klein 1997, 298.

Location. Near the House of the Oil Merchant, south-west of the akropolis and directly north of Grave Circle B.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1962.

Features. Verdhelis excavated the foundations of an apsidal building that could date to the late eighth-early seventh century. The building itself was small (9 m x 3.5 m), oriented north-south, and comprised of three sections, a porch, and two inner rooms.

Finds. Most of the finds from the apsidal building were geometric or archaic and of votive character. The north-east section of a house located in front of the House of the Oil Merchant yielded some archaic terracotta figurines (Daux 1959a, figs. 20-21, 23).

Comments. The offerings indicate that this was a cult building.

Mykenai: The West House

Verdhelis 1964, 162; 1965b, 146-148.

Tournavitou 1995, 2.

Location. Just west of the House of the Oil Merchant.

Excavation. Chance discovery during the widening of the Fíkthia-Mykenai road in 1958.

Features. The area of the south vestibule wall was built over in archaic and hellenistic times. Wall A, running east-west across the court, 5.50 m south of the south porch wall up to the east wall of the house, was an irregular construction of archaic/classical date, built over the mycenaean drain. Walls Γ and E, both of the sixth century, were built over the foundations of the south wall of the mycenaean house.

Finds. A number of archaic clay figurines and a few vases of the sixth century were found near the south-west corner of the vestibule itself. The head of another female

figurine and large pieces of archaic Corinthian tiles were also recorded at the east end of the south porch wall.

Comments. The finds suggest a religious use for the whole space of the vestibule in the archaic period.

Mykenai: The House of Sphinxes

Tournavitou 1995, 2.

Location. Directly to the south of the House of the Oil Merchant.

Excavation. British School excavations, 1952-55, 1959, 1961.

Features. In the south-east part of this mycenaean house and especially Rooms 3-5 were heavily disturbed by archaic walls.

Finds. A considerable amount of pottery was also found.

Mykenai: Tsenos Plot

Onasoglou 1990, 91-93.

Greek Name. ΤΣΕΝΟΣ

Location. The field is 100 m south of the treasury Atreus, and 50 m from the fence around this *tholos*.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations.

Features. An archaic tile-covered grave, oriented north-south, was found with the skeleton of a young man.

Finds. A bg lekythos decorated with flowers (honey suckle) and an iron stleggidha was found with the corpse.

Mykenai: The Bronze Age Tholos Tombs

Daux 1959a, 615.

Wace 1964, 44.

Demakopoulou 1990.

Antonaccio 1995, 30-41.

Ekroth 1996, 206 n.29.

Location. The tombs are all to the west of the akropolis.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía and the British School excavations.

Features. Some archaic construction took place south of the *dromos* of the tomb of 'Aigisthos'. Its east and north walls were uncovered, as well as a cross-wall to the west.

The floor associated with the structure was lower than the *dromos* floor. Dimensions of the structure were imprecise. Papadimitriou interpreted the rectangular hollow defined by tiles and full of black earth located in the centre of the preserved space as a hearth.

Finds. In 1892 Tsountas found a large number of archaic figurines in the Kato Phournos Tomb. Wace investigated the tomb and recorded another possibly archaic female figurine.

He also found seventh century pitchers and kotylai, a possible pyxis, miniature phiale fragments, and ‘inconsiderable fragments of other archaic glazed vases’ in the Epáno Phournos tomb. Among the material was bg pottery, including a fifth century kylix, a terracotta head, a miniature phiale handle, and lead (votive ?) sheets.

The tomb of ‘Aigisthos’, excavated by Wace in the 1920s and by Papadimitriou in 1954-57, yielded a female figurine, late bg pottery, a single Attic bf sherd, loom-weights, a painted terracotta cornice fragment, roof-tiles, fragments of Corinthian anthemia, two joining fragments of a small triglyph (altar ?), and a small torso from a female statue (Daux 1959a, 615, figs. 24-25).

A bf column krater with Dionysos, silens, and maenads was recovered from the area of structure in the tomb of ‘Aigisthos’.

Archaic pottery was found in the *dromos* of the tomb of Klytemnestra (Athens: NAM 1422; Demakopoulou 1990) and perhaps in the *dromos* and chamber of the Panagia tomb. The former tomb also contained miniature lead female figurines, a dozen fragments of human and animal figurines, including six horses.

Archaic votives were deposited near the tumulus of the treasury of Atreus.

Comments. J. Cook interprets the post-mycenaean tomb material as miscellaneous rubbish and not as evidence of a cult. On the other hand, Papadimitriou (1957, 129-131) maintains that a shrine or altar was founded on top of the tomb of ‘Aigisthos’, and that the fragments found their way into the chamber after the collapse. He also thought that the structure with the hearth was a ‘Sacred House’.

Among the eighty-eight post-mycenaean sherds from this area two thirds date to the late geometric period. Most of the pottery consists of open shapes (75% of total) and some miniatures. The composition of the material therefore speaks in favour of a cult.

Mykenai: The Perseia Fountain House

Holland, Hood, and Woodhead 1953, 20.

EF 1953a, 210.

Wace 1964, 99.

Daux 1965a, 709.

Mylonas 1967b, 160-163.

Location. West of the akropolis and north-east of the Tomb of Klytemnestra.

Excavation. British School and Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. In the neighbourhood of the Perseia fountain, Wace observed traces of a channel of terracotta pipes of uncertain date (archaic or later).

Finds. Geometric and archaic sherds occurred in the top metre of the fill and a few even lower. Geometric and archaic pottery was fairly plentiful lower down the ridge, and the buildings may have been constructed during this time, but an earlier date cannot be excluded. Hood remarks that there were very few post-mycenaean sherds behind the fountain house itself.

An inscription (IG 4.493) of the second quarter of the fifth century was identified as the boundary stone of the sanctuary of Hera. Another small fragment of inscription dating to 550-525, written boustrophedon, was reused in a hellenistic wall.

Comments. The inscriptions are interesting because they are some of the few that have survived from Mykenai (see Chapter I for details).

Mykenai: The Panayía Ridge

French 1993, 18.

Greek Name. Παναγία

Location. In the area north of the line of the main road from Fíkthia to Mykínes.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations ?

Features. Around the Panayía ridge they found a late sixth century cist tomb.

Mykenai: The Kháos Shrine

Cook [J.] 1953a, 30-68.

Marinatos [S.] 1953, 87-88.

Wace, Hood, and Cook [J.] 1953, 34.

Hägg 1987, 98.

Foley 1988, 144-145.

Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 89.

Antonaccio 1995, 147-152.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 601-603.

Greek Name. Xáoç

Location. Approximately 1 km south, south-west of the akropolis, on the east bank of the Kháos (or Khávós) streambed, near the mycenaean causeway.

Excavation. British School excavations.

Features. The shrine had two main phases: archaic and hellenistic. To the first belongs a rubble wall that formed the north limit of the shrine and a pit along the interior of the north wall. The abundance of tiles in the west part of the walled area probably means that section was roofed, while the central portion was an open court. The roofed area may have been some kind of storage room for the cult paraphernalia.

Finds. Several dozen archaic roof-tiles were recovered from the archaic shrine.

Below the paving in the west section, a largely archaic deposit of material was incorporated into the fill of stones. The votives in this deposit begin in the late geometric period and continue until the early fifth century in some quantity, with a few from the later fifth and early fourth century. The archaic pottery includes kantharoi of local Argive production as well as krateriskoi on high feet (Cook [J.] 1953a, 42-44). The latter, however, seem to be miniature versions of slightly earlier, late geometric, pedestal-kraters that are the exact equivalents of the louteria found at Menídhi and at the Heraion, i.e. meant as receptacles for bath-water (Hägg 1987, 97). Although there are also other shapes present, especially notable are the kalathoi, the shapes predominating are kraters and drinking cups; there are no amphorae.

There are numerous terracotta figurines of horses and riders, but seated female figurines also occur and are even slightly more numerous than the riders and the horses without riders taken together (Hägg 1997, 98). The metal objects were very few: some bronze pins and an iron spear-head (Cook [J.] 1953a, 66-68). Mixed with the archaic deposit were iron nails and bits of carbonised wood. Close to it there was an oblong pit filled with loose, dark earth containing some ash, animal bones, and pottery including a fifth century bf skyphos (Cook [J.] 1953a, 32; Hägg 1987, 98). Before the laying of the

pavement the pit had been partly covered with a stone packing in which several pieces of the hopper quern were incorporated. The archaic deposit itself gives every appearance of having been deliberately transported into this position; the majority of the figurines and miniature kotylai were found near the east end of the deposit, while the more or less undamaged kantharoi were mostly packed close together, and sometimes inside one another in the west part. Odd sherds and fragments of figurines were found in the earth in other parts of the enclosure, but did not form a regular stratum, outside the central belt of the deposit area (Cook [J.] 1953a, 32-33).

Coarse domestic wares are hardly represented in the deposit. Imports are confined to Corinthian and some Attic, with a single East Greek Lydian (Wace, Hood, and Cook [J.] 1953, 34).

Comments. The cult seems to have originated in the late geometric era. It seems to have been a significant cult, in the earlier archaic period at least; for though fine bronzes and ivories are lacking among the dedications, the vases compare favourably with those found at other sanctuaries in the Argolid (Cook [J.] 1953a, 33).

The identification of the shrine as that of the hero Agamemnon rests on fragments of inscribed vases of the fourth century and later, when it was rebuilt in hellenistic times. These sherds cannot prove that a cult to Agamemnon existed as early as the archaic period. There is nothing that demands the conclusion that Agamemnon was always honoured on this spot. It seems more likely that Hera was worshipped here.

Mykenai: Asprókhoma(ta)

Mylonas 1967a, 95-96; 1968, 111-114.

Daux 1966a, 782; 1967a, 657.

Shear [T.] 1966, 195.

Foley 1988, 145.

Antonaccio 1992, 104-105.

Greek Name. Ασπρόχωμα(τα)

Location. About 1 km north of the akropolis, at a place called Asprókhoma(ta), on the route to Kleonai.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía and American School excavations.

Features. During the excavation of the sanctuary Mylonas found two buildings. The building identified as the temple comprised only one *sekos* oriented north-south, like the temple on the akropolis, with an entrance on the south side. An unusual feature is the presence of a door in the east side, recalling the disposition of the temple of Apollo at

Bassae. Near the centre of the *sekos* remained in part a socle of which the long side was oriented towards the east doorway; perhaps it supported the cult statue. From the associated finds the temple has been dated in the fifth century.

The earlier secondary building in the shape of an 'L' had a room on an angle and two wings. The east wing was a stoa where they found five column bases *in situ*; in front of this stoa were placed two altars, probably of earlier date. The north wing of the building was made up of two rooms, of which the floor of the west room was made of *poros* plaques. In front of the east side of this room were found four *poros* bases (trophies, according to Mylonas) (Daux 1967a, 657).

About 5 m from the south side of the temple they discovered the foundations of a rectangular altar, oriented towards the east.

Finds. One important find was a fragment of cheek guard for a bronze helmet bearing a fifth century inscription to *ενιαλι[ος]*.

In front of the West Stoa stood an altar in the fill of which bones of small animals were found mixed with late geometric and early archaic sherds (Foley 1988, 145).

An orientalising skyphos suggests a date in the early seventh century for the sanctuary (Daux 1966a, 782).

Outside the east wall of the stoa they found an 'amas à pieds' and iron spear-heads, with a Protocorinthian aryballos. These were probably discarded offerings that might give a clue to the date of this building (Daux 1967a, 657).

Comments. It seems that the sanctuary was in use the early seventh century; at first it probably consisted only of an altar, although Mylonas thinks there may have been a temple. The presence of a stone pavement at the south-west corner of the stoa may have served to support a primitive temple connected with the altar in front of the stoa (Foley 1988, 145).

The sanctuary was probably dedicated to Enyalios, who was the god of war. There is only one other known temple to this god in the Argolid, at Argos (Foley 1988, 145).

Eforeía A' 1968, 178-179.

Papakhristodhoulou 1969, 131-133.

Michaud 1970, 960, fig. 152; 1972, 646.

Protonotariou-Dheílaki 1972a, 155-156.

Foley 1988, 150, 185.

Hägg 1992a, 13.

Greek Name. Κουρτάκιον

1:50000 map reference. 22° 46' 30" E and 37° 38' 30" N.

Location. In the central plain about 4 km north-east of Árgos along one of the roads towards the Heraion. The site is some 30 m north-east of the church on Saravakou Plot.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. Thousands of small pots were discovered in association with the ruins of a building, which was probably a ceramic workshop. The dimensions of the two rooms were 1.45 m by 2.2 m and 6 m by 5 m. The smaller room had a round depression (kiln ?) in the middle, which was accessible by two steps located in its south-west corner (Papakhristodhoulou 1969, 131, pl. 75).

Finds. Many of the votives were krateriskoi of the late seventh and sixth centuries. The vases in general resemble in shape and decoration contemporary pots from the Kháos shrine at Mykenai.

Figurines, including many seated females and riders as well as various animals, were also found (Foley 1988, 150).

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary.

Comments. The fact that many of the pots were whole, stacked one inside the other, suggests that they were being produced here for use as votives. The building may have been a workshop connected with the sanctuary of Demeter Mysia that Pausanias (2.18.3) saw on the roads from Mykenai to Argos or Tiryns. Presumably the sanctuary is to be located somewhere in the region of the workshop (Foley 1988, 150).

The site must have been an important sanctuary visited by vast numbers of pilgrims, since pots, figurines, and other small objects found here can be counted in hundreds of thousands (Hägg 1992a, 13).

Wheeler 1894, 351-360.
Richardson 1896, 42-61.
Waldstein 1892; 1900, 473-474; 1902; 1905.
Winter [F.] 1903, 27-28.
Müller [V.] 1929, 244.
Jenkins 1931-32, 27-34.
Blegen 1937; 1938, 377-390; 1939, 410-444.
Daly 1939, 165-169.
Payne [H.] et al. 1940.
Amandry 1952, 222-274.
Stillwell 1952.
Higgins 1954, 269-271; 1967.
Sparkes 1962, 135.
Bergquist 1967, 19-20.
Tomlinson 1972, 33-34, 230-246.
Coulton 1973, 65-85.
Lauter 1973, 175-187.
Miller 1973, 9-18.
Leekley and Noyes, 1976, 62f.
Plommer 1977, 75-83; 1984, 183-184.
Snodgrass 1980a, 53.
Wright 1982, 186-201.
Foley 1988, 172.
Strøm 1988, 173-203; 1995, 37-127.
Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 85.
Pfaff 1990, 149-156; 1992.
Antonaccio 1992, 85-105.
Hägg 1992a, 14-15.
Hall [J.] 1995a, 577-613.

Greek Name. Ηραῖον

1:50000 map reference. 22° 46' 30" E and 37° 41' 45" N.

Location. Between modern Árgos and Mykínes, about 5 km south-east of the citadel at Mykenai and 7 km north of Árgos town. The sanctuary stands on a south spur of a low mountain, bounded on two sides by the streams Eleutherium (to the north-west) and Asterion (to the south-east). Almost the entire Argive plain, the mountains that surround it, and the bay of Náfplio to the south can be seen from here.

Excavation. Investigations at the turn of the century; German Institute and Greek Eforeía excavations; American School excavations and architectural studies.

General Gordon, who dug there briefly in 1836, discovered the site by chance in 1831. In 1854 limited investigation were carried out by Rangabé and Bursian, who partly uncovered the foundations of the later temple. Schliemann made soundings in 1874, and Stamatakis cleared a bronze age tholos in 1878.

The American School of Classical Studies under Waldstein first undertook large scale excavations during the years of 1892-95. On the upper terrace part of the Old

Temple of the seventh century was excavated. Its superstructure may have been mud-brick and wood, as little of it survives. Waldstein also discovered some earlier geometric and bronze age remains of a prehistoric settlement and tombs north of the South Stoa, and two *tholoi*.

A further investigation was carried out in 1949 under Caskey and Amandry. Pfaff is now working on the classical sanctuary and Lawton is studying the sculpture from the Second Temple (still unpublished, see Antonaccio 1992, 86 n3).

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary.

Comments. It has been reported (Waldstein 1905, 61) that no stratigraphic studies were possible in the early excavations at the Heraion. Thus the depth of any given object found in the building is meaningless. Apparently strata had been dug through, mixed up, and covered over again before the excavators came to the site. For this reason one has no dating evidence from the pottery, nor is speculation usually possible since the provenience of a given object is mentioned only rarely in the publication.

Morgan and Whitelaw (1990, 84) maintain that the ceramic fabric of the eighth and seventh century suggests that the greatest proportion of pottery of the Argive regional style at the Heraion was made at Argos (cf. Foley 1988, 65-66).

The architecture is equally problematic, and no two scholars can agree on precise dates for the archaic buildings. In the course of their transfer to the NAM in Athens, and during the long period in which they awaited adequate study, the architectural terracottas from the Heraion were reduced to confusion. So many pieces are marked 'West Building'; on others the pencil marks are indecipherable. They are being re-examined by Pfaff.

The main (fifth century) road to the sanctuary, apparently with the same general direction as the modern one, would have come from the town of Argos in the south-west, running towards its end along the south side of the *temenos* and turning finally to the entrance in the west.

The new building project, involving the construction of a new temple, goes back to the mid-fifth century. This refutes the hypothesis that the new building project was a result of the fire that burned down the old temple in 423.

The Heraion: The West Building

Waldstein 1902, 131-134.

Frickenhaus 1917, 121-130.

Amandry 1952, 239-254.

Miller 1973, 9-18.

Coulton 1976, 103-105.

Amandry 1980, 211-253.

Location. West of the second, later temple.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1892-1895 and 1949.

Features. The West building has a central peristyle court 12.24 m by 10.12 m, with two-aisled porticoes to the east, south, and west, and a one-aisled portico with rooms behind to the north. It has sometimes been supposed that this building had two storeys; but both the form and date of the building are disputed. The building had been dated later than the terrace of the Second Temple of Hera (late fifth century), but the positive arguments for the later date do not seem very compelling. As in the North Stoa, the inner colonnade of the West Building has the same spacing, with the consequent suggestion of an early wooden entablature. A date in the late sixth century is therefore acceptable.

Finds. An inscribed rim of a large fifth century krater was found mixed up with a quantity of early pottery and figurines behind the retaining wall of the West Building. The inscription reads: [τα]ς *ἡερας εἰμι*.

A large number of bronze pins, fibulae, and rings were attributed to this building, but may in fact belong to the deposits about the retaining wall.

Comments. One might interpret the krater as being part of the levelling fill, therefore providing a terminus post quem for the construction of the West Building of about the mid-fifth century. There are obviously substantial uncertainties in the restoration of the West Building.

The original function of the building is uncertain, and conjecture has made it a gymnasium and a hospital for women. However, the benches or couches and the off-centre doorway point towards a hestiatorion (see Chapter II for details).

The Heraion: The North Stoa (Stoa II)

Brownson 1893, 221.

Waldstein 1902, 112-114.

van Buren 1926, 7, fig. 6.

Amandry 1952, 226-235.

Bergquist 1967, 21-22.

Coulton 1976, 26-30.

Pfaff 1990, 155-156.

Location. Between the Old temple and the Second temple.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1892-1895 and 1949.

Features. The North Stoa (Upper Stoa or Stoa II) is the largest and most monumental stoa of the Heraion. It is a two-aisled stoa with a projecting wing, facing south. It is the earliest known stoa to have stone columns and walls of isodomic masonry. The whole building is 62.10 m long and about 9.20 m deep. Along the south side runs a stylobate of grey limestone and two steps, all the visible surfaces of which are dressed smooth. It had an inner and outer colonnade; it is possible that the columns were originally wooden, being gradually replaced. The architrave was probably also wooden. A ridge-tile roof would be consistent with the general style and construction of the stoa. Perhaps it carried three-peaked antefixes.

Finds. Tiles of the late seventh-early sixth century type were found on the site of the North Stoa.

Several valuable fragments of pottery, a small terracotta head, several bronze mirrors, and a piece of bf pottery were found around the stoa.

Comments. The date of the building varies according to scholars; there are difficulties in attributing columns and capital to this stoa. In general, most would agree to a date in the late seventh-early sixth century. Others argue that the building was probably erected at the earliest in the second half of the fifth century. A re-examination of its remains *in situ* suggests that it was probably the next significant building to be constructed after the Old Temple (Pfaff 1990, 155).

The Heraion: The North-east Building (Stoa III)

Waldstein 1902, 114-116.

Amandry 1952, 235-239.

Bergquist 1967, 21-22.

Coulton 1976, 35-36.

Location. North-east of the North Stoa, just below the Old Temple terrace.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1892-1895 and 1949.

Features. This building was a two-aisled hall (?), opening south, with an inner colonnade of polygonal columns. In its present state rough slabs resting directly on the foundations close its south side. These slabs do not belong to the original structure, but the course that carries them does, so far as can be seen. As Amandry points out, the North-east Building is probably earlier than the stepped terrace wall in front of it; since that follows the orientation of the North Stoa.

Finds. A monolithic column shaft was found in the building.

Comments. The monolithic shaft suggests more positively a date in the early sixth rather than the fifth century, for this mode of construction was used only for very small columns after the archaic period.

The Heraion: The Old Temple

Brownson 1893, 221.

Wright 1982, 186-210.

Pfaff 1990, 154.

Antonaccio 1992.

Location. On the uppermost terrace of the site, above the ruins of the Second Temple.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1892-1895.

Features. The temple foundations date to the seventh century (c. 650-625). A small section of the stylobate belonging to this structure still remains on the flagging in the south-west part.

Finds. A great number of smaller objects of all descriptions came to light, some below and inside the temple foundations. They include fragments of archaic pottery, terracotta figurines and masks, bronze pins and clasps, a bronze cock, several scarabs, pieces of gold leaf, stone, bone and ivory seals, beads, and various other objects.

Some three-peaked antefixes found on the site seem to belong to this temple or to the North Stoa.

Comments. The temple has been dated on architectural grounds to the last quarter of the seventh century.

The Heraion: Below the Old Temple

Brownson 1893, 224.

Location. The cutting just below the Old Temple.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1892-1895.

Finds. From here came by far the larger part of the immense collection of terracotta figurines and smaller objects. Besides the terracottas, masses of pottery fragments were found, all archaic, quantities of iron and bone rings, terracotta and ivory relief-plaques, seals, scarabs, beads, small stone sculptures of animals, mirrors, pins, clasps, and so forth.

The Heraion: Near the Foot of the Stepped Retaining Wall

EF 1950b, 315-316.

Caskey and Amandry 1952, 168.

Location. Near the foot of the stepped retaining wall, just east of the East Building, and on the south end of one of the natural terraces.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1949.

Finds. Below a fifth-fourth century stratum lay a seventh-sixth century layer containing 1000s of objects and fragments of metal, stone, and terracotta, in addition to a great number of small votive pots, many of which were unbroken, lying closely packed like eggs in a basket. The vases, mainly miniatures, are of local ware. Many hydriai, together with oinochoai, skyphoi, and cups were represented here. The bronzes include miniature phialai, pins and brooches, and part of a statuette of a bronze kouros (Athens, NAM 16357). The fragment is comparable to the stone statues from Delphi, so-called Kleobis and Biton.

Comments. The abundance of offerings evokes the deposit of lamps and *skyphoi* discovered in Troizen by Legrand (1905, 302-304).

The Heraion: The South Stoa (Stoa VI)

Waldstein 1902, 127-130, pls. 20-22.

Amandry 1952, 222-274.

Roux 1961.

Coulton 1973, 65-85.

Location. South of the Second Temple, on a lower terrace.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1892-1895 and 1949.

Features. This building is the best preserved Peloponnesian stoa of the fifth century, and one of the earliest anywhere with substantial remains of a stone entablature. Several stylobate blocks survive. The roof has been restored as a simple rafter roof.

Comments. It was built at some time between 470-455 and 420.

The Heraion: Unknown Findspot

Waldstein 1905, 185-187.

Location. The findspots are unknown.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1892-1895.

Finds. Several painted inscriptions were found: a Corinthian aryballos, fragments of a dinos, and a fragment of late Corinthian ware. As for incised inscriptions, they include several examples: on a small bowl, on the inside of an open vessel, on several bf sherds, on a bg sherd, on the foot of a kylix, and on many more sherds.

Prosymna (Iráion)

A-14

Antonaccio 1992, 100-101; 1995, 277-280.

Greek Name. Ηραίων

1:50000 map reference. 22° 46' 30" E and 37° 41' 30" N.

Location. About 1 km north-west of the Heraion and a few kilometres south of Mykenai.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1890s, and also in 1925, 1927-28.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine and cemetery.

Comments. In Pausanias (2.17.2) Prosymna is located 'above' the Heraion, which made Blegen designate the prehistoric settlement and cemetery by this name. This sometimes causes confusion with Prósymna (or as it is now called Prósymni) in the Berbatí region.

Prosymna: The 'Secondary Shrine'

Blegen 1939, 410-411, 420, 423.

Antonaccio 1992, 100.

Hägg 1992a, 15.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 601.

Location. About 700 m north-west of the Heraion, about 75 m north-west of a *tholos* tomb and some 25 m south-west of chamber Tomb 17.

Features. Excavations revealed a small terrace, supported in part on its south-west side by a massive wall of conglomerate limestone. The terrace, or rather platform, had a length of about 12.5 m from south-east to north-west and a width of about 8.5 m. On its north-west side it was bounded by a shallow streambed, and the original construction at this end had doubtless been carried away in the course of time by occasional torrents. On the north-east and south-east sides a substructure of rough stones was brought to light, but apparently the only retaining wall meant to be visible was that already mentioned on the south-west side. It was found standing to a height of 2 m; the best built section was only 4.7 m long, but the line was continued 5.7 m farther south-east by a wall of smaller stones. The floor of the platform was reached at an average depth of about 0.55 m below the modern surface of the ground; it was roughly level, formed of some large stones and a fill of smaller stones and gravel. The topsoil covering it contained hellenistic and classical sherds as well as some earlier fabrics (Blegen 1939, 410).

At the centre of the terrace there was also perhaps an ash altar, where burnt sacrifices were offered, as indicated by the thick deposit of charred matter in a restricted area on the floor of the platform (Blegen 1939, 411).

Finds. Near the centre of the platform was a deposit of burnt debris, black earth, and carbonised matter, occupying an irregular area about 1.2 m in diameter (Blegen 1939, 411). The layer was 0.2 m thick and contained fragments of bronze, a piece of iron and some sherds of Protocorinthian and associated vases (Blegen 1939, 412-428, figs. 3-11). Similar pottery and bits of bronze came to light almost everywhere about the platform, but most of these remains were utterly shattered and badly decayed. The bronzes found in the deeper earth along the north-east and south-west sides of the platform included many mesomphalic phialai, for the most part in fragmentary and corroded state, corresponding to Dunbabin's later type at Perakhora from the first part of the sixth century (Blegen 1939, 420). Numerous pins (Waldstein 1907, 207-239) and fragments of various other metal offerings were also recovered.

Sherds were especially abundant, and there were many small votive vases of the unpainted Protocorinthian style (Blegen 1939, 411). Terracotta horse figurines from the terrace belong to the seated goddess and rider type, but the riders have been broken away (Blegen 1939, 423). Also found were loom-weights and wreaths.

A black glazed sherd with an inscription $h]ερας εμ[ι]$ was taken by Blegen (1939, 412, fig. 11) as evidence that the platform was merely an outlying altar belonging to Hera.

Comments. The evidence seems to warrant the conclusion that the platform had been prepared to support a small shrine to Hera, by the side of the old road to Mykenai.

It is true that no traces of the actual building could be recognised; if there was ever one at all it must have been a small and simple edifice, perhaps constructed mainly or entirely of crude brick. Its most important feature was apparently an altar. Perhaps the altar itself constituted the shrine, although there must presumably have been some sort of shelter in which the votive offerings could be kept (Blegen 1939, 411).

Prosymna: The South-west Slope

Blegen 1939, 437-440.

Location. On the south-west slope below the Heraion.

Finds. A great many bronze straight pins were found, for the most part badly corroded, which all belong to DeCou's (Waldstein 1907, 207ff.) classifications.

An Egyptian bronze statuette of Horus (Harpokrates) in the usual seated attitude dates to the 26th dynasty (late sixth century) (Blegen 1939, 437).

Prosymna: The Bridge across the Révma tou Kastroú

Blegen 1939, 428-430, 435-437.

Location. The bridge goes across a dry streambed around the north and west of the site. This streambed, the Révma tou Kastroú, may be the Eleutherion of Pausanias.

Finds. Bronze griffin protomai found alongside the foundations of the bridge date by style to the early part of the sixth century (Blegen 1939, 428-430).

Fragments of a foot of a marble statue from the bridge were found by a shepherd at the site of a small chapel of Ayía Kyriakí, at the summit of the knoll toward the east of the Heraion. Its style had been dated to the late sixth century, and Blegen (1939, 435-437) thinks the fragment is from an archaic kore, which had presumably been dedicated in the sanctuary of Hera.

Prosymna: The Bronze Age Chamber Tombs

Blegen 1937, 133, 198; 1938, 377-390.

Hägg 1987, 99.

Antonaccio 1995, 56.

Location. In the area of the bronze age *tholos*.

Features. Evidence for a possible early archaic burial occurs in Tomb 8.

A low wall was recorded inside one of the chamber tombs (50) and dated to the archaic period by the bronzes discovered on it (Antonaccio 1995, 201).

Finds. Intrusions among the chamber tombs began in the late eighth century and continued into the archaic period. In Tomb 10 they found archaic material in a layer of black earth and ashes, containing many small fragments of charred bone. It yielded also a fragment of an archaic female figurine of the seated type. From this point to a depth of 5 m in a shaft, the objects recovered seemed to be of still more recent date; they included a few lumps of iron and bronze fragments, part of the horn of a bull, and sherds of a Corinthian aryballos (Inv. 61; Blegen 1937, 198; 1938, 380-382).

Tomb 8, a built cist never fully published by Blegen, included pottery, terracotta spools, lamp fragments, a bronze rod, and a pyxis (Hägg 1974, 61 n108-109; Foley 1988, 45; Antonaccio 1995, 59-60).

Tomb 40 contained a small Corinthian jug (Inv. 864), a number of fragments of Protocorinthian pottery, representing several skyphoi, a bronze bowl and pin (Blegen 1937, 133-135, fig. 319). There were also a few animal bones, with three or four teeth, probably of a dog (Blegen 1937, 133).

Comments. These offerings were given to the heroised dead.

Catling 1985, 20.
Foley 1988, 172.
Onasoglou 1990, 85-86.
French 1993, 16.
Hall [J.] 1995a, 612.

Greek Name. Χώνικας

1:50000 map reference. 22° 46' 30" E and 37° 40' 15" N.

Location. In the Argive plain, about 1 km south of the Heraion, a place called Khónikas, Kokkínia, or Néo Iraío.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. A very large (80 m long) monumental colonnaded *poros* building of the early fifth century was discovered in a field. The building, which was probably a stoa, with its associated architectural elements was connected with the Heraion.

Finds. Corinthian tiles and a few *akroteria* lay in a destruction level on a pebble floor. Other architectural items include a half column base (47 cm), and an Ionic capital with white stucco and an attachment hole in the eye. Small finds include an iron *obol*, a stone mortar, and various small bronzes, probably from classical times. Pottery was also found (French 1993, 16; Onasoglou 1990, 85-86).

Function. Special-purpose site: associated with sanctuary.

Comments. The site, on the presumed road from Argos to the Heraion, is in the area where the hippodrome (known from an inscription) is thought to lie. Parallels are noted to a structure at Nemea (French 1993, 16; Onasoglou 1990, 85-86).

The building should be viewed as part of the new programme of monumentalisation taking place at the Heraion, and almost certainly stood on the new Sacred Way that connected Argos with the Heraion (Hall [J.] 1995a, 612).

Schliemann 1886.
Winter [F.] 1903, 26, 34.
Müller [K.] and Sulze 1930, 134-139.
Vanderpool 1963, 281.
Verdhelis 1965a, 66-73.
Drerup 1969, 17-18.
Tomlinson 1972, 41.
Michaud 1973, 299.
Gercke and Hiesel 1975.
Kilian, Podzuweit, and Haevernick 1981, 159-160.
Wright 1982, 201.
Kilian 1984, 61.
Catling 1984, 25.
Fagerström 1988, 29.
Jameson 1990a, 213-223.
Demakopoulou 1990, 375-378.
Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 87.
Hägg 1992a, 17.

Greek Name. Τίρυνς

1:50000 map reference. 22° 48' E and 37° 36' N.

Location. On a low rocky hill in the Argive plain, almost 4 km north of Náfplio, and 2 km from the coast. At present it is over 1 km distant from the sea, but it was much closer in antiquity (Zangger 1993, 85).

Excavation. German Institute and Greek Eforeía excavations.

Function. Habitation site: town or village ?

Comments. The surrounding areas and the materials of post-mycenaean periods have received less attention than the bronze age citadel; hence perhaps our comparative ignorance of the site's post-iron age development.

The settlement was destroyed by the Argives in 468, but was not completely abandoned (Michaud 1973, 299).

Tiryns: The Upper Citadel

Schliemann 1886, 229, 293-296, 357.

Frickenhaus, Müller [W.], and Oelmann 1912, 56-93, 103-105.

Müller [K.] and Sulze 1930, 134-139.

Drerup 1969, 17-18.

Jantzen 1975, 99, 105, 159-161.

Verdhelis, Jameson, and Papakhrisodhoulou 1975.

Kilian, Podzuweit, and Weisshaar 1981, 159-160.

Wright 1982, 201.

Fagerström 1988, 29.

Foley 1988, 145-146.

Jameson 1990a, 213-223.

Hägg 1992a, 17.

Schwandner 1988, 269-284.

Demakopoulou 1990, 375-379.

Antonaccio 1992, 104.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 598.

Location. At the highest point on the site.

Excavation. German Institute excavations.

Finds. In the doorway to the north of the gate to the upper citadel, together with a number of roof-tiles, an antefix was found. It was of light yellow clay, with red-brown decoration. Apparently the antefix belonged to the same building as the Doric capital (below).

In the later wall which ran across the great court about one half metre above the concrete floor, there was found an old Doric capital of the early sixth century. The material is a *poros* sandstone of light colour; it was covered with fine lime plaster 1-2 mm thick. It is unknown to which building the capital belonged. No shaft was found. Another capital 'en sofa' was found in the recent excavations (Schwandner 1988, 276-283, figs. 8-12).

A large quantity of figurines and other terracotta objects were found in an inverted corner of the south-east akropolis wall, immediately under the surface. All the pieces lay close to the circuit wall, but outside of it, and therefore must at some time have been thrown from the citadel. As the objects seem almost all to have been votive offerings, they must have belonged to some sanctuary existing above the citadel (Schliemann 1886, figs. 62-63, 66, 76, 83, 87, 94-95). These include about 100 miniature Protocorinthian vases such as skyphoi, oinochoai, and pyxides, as well as a large number of undated vases such as a kantharoi, one-handled cups, cooking pots, and bowls. Apart from the pottery, bronze bowls, pins, and rings, iron pins, and a lead wreath were found (Frickenhaus, Müller [W.], and Oelmann 1912, 56-93, 103-105).

The second deposit was a *bothros*, 20 m east of the megaron, which held a deposit of miniature vases, miniature koulouria, terracottas, fibulae, pins, as well that the more famous seventh century Gorgons masks and clay models of shields (Jantzen 1975, 159-161).

A bronze *phiale* was also found in this area.

Comments. The identification of Hera is strengthened by a graffito with her name on the base of a classical black glaze bowl found on the citadel (Jantzen 1975, 105). Moreover, the deposit in which the masks were found is connected with the cult of a goddess, usually thought to be Hera because of her importance in Tiryns.

We can imagine that on the same spot where the Christians afterwards built their church -- that is, at the south end of the castle -- there existed a temple or some sanctuary.

Tiryns: North-west Galleries

Frickenhaus, Müller [W.], and Oelmann 1912, 105.

Verdhelis, Jameson and Papakhistodhoulou 1975, 150-205.

Antonaccio 1992, 104-105.

Location. On the citadel.

Excavation. German Institute and Greek Eforeía excavations.

Finds. Inscriptions in false boustrophedon were found incised on a series of stone plaques, reused to cover the north-west galleries of the akropolis. They deal with one or many religious rules, dated to the early sixth century, or even the end of the seventh century (see Chapter I for details).

The excavators also found a graffito on the rim of a large glazed Attic plate (Frickenhaus, Müller [W.], and Oelmann 1912, 105, fig. 43).

Comments. In the 'syrinx' inscription from the citadel of Tiryns, the community called itself a *damos* in the early archaic period.

Tiryns: The East Gateway on the Middle Citadel

Jantzen 1975, 105f.

Foley 1988, 145-146, 196-198.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 598.

Location. In the area of the middle citadel.

Excavation. German Institute excavations.

Finds. An inscription to Athena on a krater (Ἀθαναΐας ἐμί) and two archaic votive helmets make the worship of Athena at Tiryns very likely (Jantzen 1975, 105f.; Foley 1988, 147).

Comments. The location of her cult, however, is probably better sought in the vicinity of the eastern gateway to the citadel (Hall [J.] 1995a, 598-599).

Tiryns: Outside the Citadel

Touchais 1984, 760.

Location. Outside the west fortification wall, around the citadel.

Excavation. German Institute excavations.

Features. Graves of the geometric and later periods have been located in this area, together with a hellenistic pit filled with archaic architectural fragments.

Comments. The architectural fragments are probably connected with the inscription that mentions Zeus and Athena.

Tiryns: Unknown Context

Touchais 1978, 664.

Location. Towards the south (LXI-LXII 142).

Excavation. German Institute excavations.

Finds. A layer contained an abundance of Corinthian and Attic bf sherds.

Nauplia (Náfplio)

A-17

Tomlinson 1972, 44-45.

Dheřlaki 1977, 91.

Foley 1988, 191.

Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 90.

Greek Name. Ναύπλιον

1:50000 map reference. 22° 49' E and 37° 34' 30" N.

Location. In the Argive plain, at the modern town of Náfplio, on the Palamídhi (Παλαμήδειον) road.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. The graves reported here are mainly mycenaean and geometric, but seven at Prónoia are seventh century *pithoi*, and two at Palmídhi are archaic. The first of these is a *pithos*, the second a pit burial.

Function. Special-purpose site: graves.

Comments. This cemetery area shows continuity from prehistoric years.

Náfplio has produced very little material, owing largely to modern overbuilding and the rarity of redevelopment in the historic town. Its main function seem to have been to act as a harbour for Argos, after 700.

Khatzipouliou 1989, 87.

Greek Name. Ἀρία

1:50000 map reference. 22° 49' 30" E and 37° 34' 30" N.

Location. In the Argive plain, about 2.5 km east of Náfplio, near Mt. Apias on the road to ancient Epidauros.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations.

Features. A pit was found on the Karvouniari Plot.

Finds. It contained a small lead plaque with a scene of a sacred wedding.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine ?

Comments. This seems to have been a votive deposit probably associated with a nearby shrine.

Säflund 1965.

Tomlinson 1972, 34.

Santillo Frizell 1984, 25-33.

Foley 1988, 177.

Wells [B.], Runnels, and Zangger 1990, 207-238.

Wells [B.] 1994, 65-76.

Ekroth 1996.

Greek Name. Πρόσυμνα

1:50000 map reference. 22° 50' 30" E and 37° 42' 45" N.

Location. The Berbatí valley, as it is known archaeologically, is at modern Prósymna or Prósymni, behind the Heraion, about 7 km south-east of Mykenai and 6 km north of Midea.

The plain is shut off by a ring of mountains and approached most easily through a defile at its south-east corner.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, excavations in 1935-39, 1953, and 1959. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

During the last ten years a surface survey (intensive, 1988-90) has been carried out in the valley, with on-going excavations under the auspices of the Swedish Institute. The village of Prósymni was excluded from the survey.

Function. Habitation site: farmsteads.

Comments. The meaning of the name Berbatí is obscure. It is said that in Albania today there still exists a village by the name of Berbatí; on the other hand, in the first half of the sixteenth century this name also constituted a family name carried by numerous soldiers in the service of the Venetians. It could also be of Turkish origin.

Pausanias did not mention this region, presumably because there was nothing to take him into it.

The archaic material from each findspot is not very extensive but seems to be distributed over a larger number of findspots. These have been interpreted mainly as farmsteads (Findspots 20-21, 24, 522-523, 525, 527-528), a possible tomb (near Findspot 18), a cult place (Findspot 516), and a possible sanctuary (Findspot 402).

It is noteworthy that no geometric/archaic habitation was located at the former settlement centre of the valley, the Mastos, or in its immediate surroundings. As a whole the late geometric and the archaic activity in the valley is concentrated in its north-west part. The settlement spread from the west to the east, which suggests that the late

geometric settlers entered the valley from the west, i.e. they came over the pass from Mykenai (Ekroth 1996, 219).

It is possible that the modern dirt road reflects an ancient road or path, which functioned as a side road leading from the mycenaean road through the one of the settlements down to the valley floor. The mycenaean road could very well have been functional during geometric times since parts of it are still transversable by jeep today. A second communication route toward the west must have run across the lowest point of the pass, where there is a footpath today (1 hour walk) (Ekroth 1996, 220).

The Berbati-Limnes survey had revealed a settlement pattern for late geometric period that is best explained as the result of a resettlement of the valley from Mykenai. This implies close connections between the two areas at the time. In the archaic period even closer intercommunity relations are indicated by the identical character of parts of the pottery assemblages from the cult by the Berbatí *tholos* and the Kháos shrine (Ekroth 1996, 220).

Comments. In the Southern Argolid a gap between geometric and recognisable archaic has been observed. Runnels, Pullen, and Langdon (1995) suggest that this gap should not be interpreted as a sign of depopulation, but rather can be explained as a lower date for the end of the geometric style or a break in the contact with west Argolid in favour of local pottery production, which is difficult to compare with the rest of the Argolid and thus more difficult to date. Interpretation of the material remains from archaic settlements in Attica and the Kyklades is also difficult in some cases, for little material has been recovered from each individual site. It has been suggested as an alternative explanation to the depopulation that there might be errors in the interpretation and dating of the pottery here also (Osborne 1989, 297-322). Thus the scarcity of seventh and sixth century material at Berbatí should perhaps not simply be interpreted as a drop in population. A lower date for the end of the Argive late geometric style would facilitate the dating of the plain ware at Berbatí. As it is, the fine ware from, for example, Findspot 20 and 24, is predominantly late geometric, while the plain ware is probably archaic. If the late geometric style continued into the seventh century, the fine and the plain wares or the end of the late geometric pottery and the beginning of the archaic pottery would coincide.

The archaeological record for the Argive plain does not contribute much to clarify whether there was a decrease in population or not. The pottery chronology is not well established for the archaic period in the Argolid. Foley (1988, 163-166) assumes a drop

in Argive pottery production and an increase in imported wares, mainly from Korinthos. Most of the material of this period comes from sanctuaries, while settlements on the plain were deserted in favour of the east Argolid. If cult activity continued or even increased, the surrounding area could not have been drastically depopulated. In the Berbatí valley the cult activity at the *tholos* definitively shows an increase in archaic times and there might even have existed a shrine or temple where the church of Áyios Pétros is situated today. The later written sources mention conflicts with Sparta during the seventh and sixth centuries, which could have led to a depopulation, but it is hard to tell how much trust should be put into these sources. If one compared the development at Berbatí with the picture presented by other field surveys in the Argolid, there is a distinction. The results of the Southern Argolid survey show clear increase in the number of sites from the geometric to the archaic period, which is explained by an increase in the agricultural production (Runnels and van Andel 1987, 316f, 326; van Andel and Runnels 1987, 104f.). Also the results of the Neméa survey seem to indicate an increase in activity from the geometric to the archaic period (Wright et al. 1990, 647; Ekroth 1996, 224).

What is important to stress is the fact that Berbatí valley was inhabited in the seventh and sixth centuries and that the decrease in material from the settlements does not necessarily mean a large drop in the population, especially since the cult by the *tholos* tomb shows an increase in material. From the late sixth and early fifth centuries the situation is different, since the material is very scanty. In total only a few late archaic sherds were found at the settlements and at the cult place by the *tholos*.

That the synoikismos was not completed until so late is not without parallel for the Argolid, as has been suggested by Koerner (1985, 452-457, especially 457) for Tiryns. Koerner suggests that the inner structure of the *polis* at Tiryns was formed before the synoikismos took place and that this process was not completed in the seventh century. Whatever the reason, Ekroth (1996, 225) finds it safe to conclude that in the end of the archaic period the Berbatí valley was partially, although not completely, deserted.

Berbatí: Near Findspot 18

Hägg 1974, 129-130.

Ekroth 1996, 182.

Location. Downslope from Findspot 18, in Tracts 84, 90, and 92.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Features. A cist-like structure [archaic ?] with large slabs on top had been sunk into the scarp, and in the field above several large slabs were noticed. This could be interpreted as the remains of a cist grave of a type well documented in the Argolid (Hägg 1974, 129f.). The whole area including Tracts 82, 84, 90, and 92 could have contained several tombs, which have now been obliterated or heavily disturbed by bulldozing (Ekroth 1996, 182).

Finds. Some Corinthian roof-tile fragments and geometric/archaic sherds were picked up on the overgrown terraces. Two miniature archaic vessels (nos. 3-4) were found in a newly bulldozed scarp below a tobacco field during a geological field trip in Tract 90. All the material belongs to the same geological horizon.

Berbatí: Near Findspot 7

Wells [B.], Runnels, and Zangger 1990, 229-230.
Ekroth 1996, 182.

Location. From the slopes beneath Findspot 7 (eighth century *pithos* burial) towards the Kefalári Rema.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Finds. A few archaic sherds and a spool were found in Tracts 76, 78, and 80 (Ekroth 1996, 182).

Berbatí: Findspot 20

Wells [B.], Runnels, and Zangger 1990, 229.
Ekroth 1996, 186-187.

Location. Findspot 20, located in Tract 94, is situated on the same spur as Findspot 18 (eighth century graves) and Findspot 7 (eighth century *pithos* burial), but further downslope to the south-east. Here the spur flattens out and forms a plateau just to the west of the Kefalári Rema at the head of a ravine. The findspot has a very good view over the whole valley floor. The area is partly terraced and dense in vegetation such as olives and maquis (Ekroth 1996, 182).

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Finds. A dense scatter of geometric/archaic material was found here, including fifty-one geometric/archaic sherds, twenty-four pieces of roof-tiles, and three pieces of *poros*, coarse clay, perhaps fired mud-bricks.

The archaic fine ware is more sparse than the late geometric. Argive archaic material seems to be lacking, but some Corinthian imports are present. No. 14 is a Corinthian conventionalising *kotyle* or *skyphos* of a type that was widely dispersed during the sixth and fifth century (Ekroth 1996, 186). There are only a few fine wares belonging to the sixth century, and perhaps more plain ware. The plain ware is represented by many different shapes (nos. 15-23).

The roof-tiles are mainly Laconian, both painted and unpainted, and they could be archaic.

Comments. Due to the large quantities of material, the function of the findspot must have been some kind of permanent settlement, maybe one or several farmhouses, established in the eighth century and in use until the sixth century (Ekroth 1996, 187).

Berbatí: Findspot 24

Wells [B.], Runnels, and Zangger 1990, 229.
Ekroth 1996, 187-192.

Location. About 125 m to the west of Findspot 20 on the same plateau to the west of the Kefalári Rema and in the same tract, 94.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Finds. The sample from this area contained fifty-six geometric/archaic sherds, six roof-tiles, one loom-weight, and two spools. Of archaic date is a fragment of an Argive *kantharos* (no. 31) from the first half of the sixth century. The plain ware (nos. 34-36) is similar to that of Findspot 20: mortars, and shallow and deep basins. It seems to be mainly archaic, but some of it may be geometric. Few sherds can be assigned to the sixth century.

The loom-weight (no. 37) is of the usual conical type; loom-weights of similar shape found in Korinthos and have been dated to the seventh century. One of the spools (no. 38) has the same shape as examples found at Argos, Prosymna, and Korinthos and is most likely archaic. The roof-tiles (no. 39) are both pan-tiles and cover-tiles of the Corinthian type.

A rich scatter of material was picked up in two associated tracts, Tracts 94 and 96. In all eighteen geometric/archaic sherds, six roof-tiles, one loom-weight, and two spools were found. A basin/*pithos* or *larnax* is of archaic date. The archaic spools (no. 47) are of the same shape as the previous one, no. 38. This one deserves mentioning, since it

carries a stamped palmette at one end. The roof-tiles (no. 42) are both Corinthian pan and cover-tiles.

Comments. The date of the material from Tracts 94 and 96 conforms to the date of the findspot material and also fills the gap in the seventh century. The settlement began around the late geometric period and continued into archaic times. The spools and loom-weights found suggest that textile production must have taken place at the findspots (Ekroth 1996, 192).

The material also points towards the presence of one or several farmhouses, probably part of the same complex as those found at Findspot 20 (Ekroth 1996, 190).

Berbatí: Findspot 26

Ekroth 1996, 192-193.

Location. On a tongue of preserved marl soil between two remas, downslope to the east of Findspots 20 and 24 in Tract 98.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Features. Traces of wall were visible in the south part of the findspot.

Finds. The concentration of material was dense, including sherds, tiles, stone rubble, and square blocks. A late sixth century Corinthian kotyle (no. 48) was found here, along with fifteen geometric/archaic sherds and at least as many tiles (Ekroth 1996, 192).

Comments. The function of the findspot is difficult to determine from the material; perhaps this material was brought there by erosion from Findspots 20 and 24 just up the slope.

Berbatí: The Phytesoumia Area

Ekroth 1996, 193-201.

Location. The Phytesoumia spur is situated close to the pass toward Mykenai and is also easily reached from the Mykenaian road (Ekroth 1996, 221). The region lies to the south of the spur where Findspots 20, 24, and 26 are situated. It must be considered as a whole if any conclusions about the function of the findspots located here are to be reached. Findspot 528 in Tract 559 is the northernmost of the geometric/archaic findspots in the area. Findspot 527 in Tract 564 is the southernmost of the geometric/archaic findspots on the Phytesoumia spur. The five findspots located in this area are: 522-523, 525, 527, 528.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbati-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Finds. Almost every findspot and tract yielded both fine and plain pottery and many roof-tiles. A quantity of the archaic pottery, both fine and plain ware, was imported from Korinthos (Ekroth 1996, 201). Loom-weights and spools were also found.

Findspot 527 had many roof-tiles and a few sherds and is associated with some large limestone blocks, though not squared, and a quantity of smaller limestone rubble (Ekroth 1996, 199). A late sixth to early fifth century loom-weight (no. 73) and an archaic krater (no. 72) were also found here. Tract 564 contained four geometric/archaic sherds, including an archaic krater (no. 76), loom-weights, and two spools (nos. 77-78).

Findspot 523 is in Tract 557, located to the south-east of Findspot 522 and to the south-west of Findspot 525, just to the west of the dirt road. There they found five archaic sherds, five Corinthian roof-tiles, and a lower stone from an andesite saddle quern. A limestone block with a cutting perhaps identifying it as a threshold was also noted in the tract. Associated Tract 557 yielded three archaic sherds. The date of the material sampled stretches over a long period of time, from the late eighth-early seventh century down to the sixth and maybe even to the fifth century. It includes two basins, one of which was a sixth-fifth century shallow basin from Korinthos (no. 69) (Ekroth 1996, 198).

In Tract 556, in a terraced olive grove just to the west of the dirt road, is Findspot 522 where a very worn column drum was found together with a small, crude limestone basin, both of these close to a cement-rubble construction a few metres in diameter. Five geometric/archaic sherds were found at Findspot 522 and four in its associated Tract 556. The date of the material is from late geometric to the sixth century. A sixth century bowl and an archaic pithos were found (nos. 58-59). At the findspot many more roof-tiles than sherds were noted.

To the east of Findspot 522, on the other side of the dirt road in Tract 562, was Findspot 525, where ten geometric/archaic sherds and one Corinthian pan-tile were sampled. The datable fine ware from the findspot seems to be archaic from the seventh and sixth centuries: a sixth century kantharos (no. 62) and an archaic pithos (no. 63). From Tract 562 came one archaic sherd.

Associated Tract 563 to the south of Findspot 525 contained one archaic sherd: an Attic cup or skyphos of the sixth to early fifth centuries. A large cut limestone block, roughly 1 m by 1 m was found in the centre of the tract.

Findspot 528 yielded twelve geometric/archaic sherds, all fine ware, and one spool. Most sherds seem to be archaic and of Argive manufacture. In the associated Tract 559 six archaic sherds and one large piece of a Corinthian pan-tile were sampled. It includes a sixth-fifth century krater and a sixth century straight-sided basin. The material in the tract came from the south part of the tract while the Findspot 528 lies in the north part. Tracts 560, 561, and 555, to the south of Findspot 528, contained a scatter of material, including sherds, both fine and plain ware, a rim of a neckless, globular pithos, a jug or oinochoe, (no. 56), and a lekane stand or pithos (no. 57).

Comments. The conclusions that can be drawn from this material is that farmhouses were probably situated all along the ridge of the spur. It is impossible to deduce from the remains what kind of farming activity took place in the valley. It is possible that the tending of goat and sheep existed side by side with agriculture. The loom-weights and the spools could indicate that textiles were also produced. The settlement must have begun in the late geometric period and continued into the archaic period, which is best represented in its earliest phases.

The tiles from Findspot 528 suggest some kind of structure, but the sherd material is too scanty to allow any closer definition. The absence of plain ware is to be noted (Ekroth 1996, 193).

Berbatí: Findspot 21
Ekroth 1996, 201.

Location. To the east of Findspot 15 in Tract 87 on a gently sloping alluvial fan overlooking the valley floor.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Finds. The material included a large amount of roof-tiles but fewer sherds. Cut blocks of conglomerate, one of which had a cutting indicating that it could be a block from a press-bed, were found.

An archaic skyphos or krater (no. 82) and a mortar (no. 83) were also found along with nine geometric/archaic sherds and twelve roof-tiles. All the fine ware seems to be archaic.

From Tracts 552 and 551 downslope to the south of Findspot 21 came three geometric/archaic sherds.

Comments. Due to the large number of roof-tiles noted, this findspot could represent a more permanent kind of structure, probably a farmstead. The main periods at Findspot 21, however, were classical/hellenistic and the majority of roof-tiles are likely to originate from structures of these periods (Ekroth 1996, 201).

Berbatí: Findspot 516, A Cult Place or Sanctuary
Ekroth 1996, 201-205.

Location. Just on the north edge of the caved-in chamber of the mycenaean *tholos* (Findspot 515), which is situated north-west of the Mastos. The majority of the material was concentrated densely in a spot very close to the chamber of the *tholos*.

It was decided that all the material would be picked up; this deviation from the usual sampling method was made because it was believed that the function of the findspot could be better understood if all material was closely studied.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Finds. The ceramic material stretched from the late eighth century down to the end of the sixth century (Ekroth 1996, 205). The majority of the archaic sherds are from vessels manufactured in the Argolid. Only one fifth of the material consisted of plain ware and these sherds originated from different shapes than those findspots interpreted as farmsteads, like Findspots 20 and 24. The fine ware includes shapes that are only encountered at this findspot; archaic examples include a late seventh-early sixth century mesomphalic relief *phiale* (no. 89), *kalathoi* (nos. 98-99), and a decorated miniature cup (no. 100). These have almost exact parallels from the Kháos shrine at Mykenai.

Most of the miniatures (like nos. 101-103) seem to be Argive, but no. 100 is a Corinthian miniature krater or cup with painted figure decoration, perhaps attributable to the 'Miniature horse workshop'.

Around ten sherds are Corinthian imports; only one *kotyle* (no. 95) is archaic, the rest are earlier.

The very fragmentary rider figurine (no. 105) is of the usual Argive archaic type.

The latest material is difficult to define, but the krater rim (no. 104) is glazed, which must place it late in the archaic period or early in the classical period.

Comments. Judging from the location of this findspot (close to the *tholos*) and the special character of the material found, it seems safe to conclude that it had a cultic function. The pottery is best paralleled, both in singular instances and as a whole, by the

material from the Kháos shine at Mykenai (Wace, Hood and Cook [J.] 1953, 69-83), but also by the geometric/archaic deposits in the chamber tombs at Prosymna (Blegen 1938, 377-390) and Argos (Deshayes 1966, 50-54), and the chamber tombs and *tholoi* at Mykenai (Wace 1932, 23, 31-34, 38, 43, 47, 49, 95, 114f.).

Berbatí: Findspot 402, A Sanctuary ?

Ekroth 1996, 208-210.

Location. Tracts 403-409, 411, 414-416, 418 are situated in the area around a church and to the north and the east of Findspot 402. The distribution is likely to have some connection with Findspot 402. A scatter of geometric/archaic material was found in Tracts 403-409.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Finds. The sampled geometric/archaic material from eleven tracts and three findspots in this area consists of around fifty sherds, many tile fragments, and one female figurine. The material is both fine and plain ware, often paralleled in the settlement material from Findspots 20 and 24.

Some pottery was sixth century, including basins (nos. 114 and 120), a skyphos or cup (no. 115), a stand (no. 116), and an amphora or jug (no. 118).

The figurine (no. 112) was found in the north-west part of Tract 403, which is right below the area where Wrede (unpublished) claims he saw large foundations. At the site of the Áyios Pétros church (Findspot 23), right above Tract 403, Wrede noted a large foundation of 'an archaic temple' and local informants told the surveyors that when the church was constructed many 'archaia' (i.e. ancient objects and remains) were found (Ekroth 1996, 208). The figurine might have come from that shrine (Ekroth 1996, 218).

Comments. Presumably there was some kind of late geometric and archaic occupation in the area, which has been destroyed by activity during the later periods (Ekroth 1996, 208). The finding of the figurine strengthens the assumption that there was a sanctuary here (Ekroth 1996, 210).

Berbatí: Tract 223

Ekroth 1996, 212.

Location. East of the Klisoura, on the high plateau in the region of Loutsa.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbatí-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90.

Finds. One archaic sherd was picked up in Tract 223. This sherd, a weathered rim of a Corinthian lipless *kotyle*, was found on the top of Rakhi Kalogirou, which commands an excellent view of the Argive plain.

Hägg 1962, 89.

Wallberg 1967, 161-175; 1992, 23-39.

Tomlinson 1972, 41.

Foley 1988, 177-178.

French 1991, 24.

Kosmetatou 1996, 115-123, esp. 115-116.

Greek Name. Μιδέα (Παλαιόκαστρον)

1:50000 map reference. 22° 50' 30" E and 37° 39' N.

Location. At the edge of the Argive plain, south of modern Midhėja, about 12 km south-east of modern Mykínes, on top of a steep-sided hill called Palaiókastro. The Xeriás river runs just south of the akropolis.

Excavation. Swedish Institute and Greek Eforeía excavations.

Finds. Åström cleared the east gate from debris and found in the higher layers large parts of a terracotta house model, probably dating to the archaic period (French 1991, 24).

There are also pottery fragments indicating some sort of post-mycenaean habitation in the district below; however, the precise location has not been established (Hägg 1962, 89).

A few archaic sherds and one almost complete pot (*kantharos*) were discovered out of context, in area N, to the north-east of Terrace 10, near the citadel wall (Wallberg 1992, 33-39). The sherds belong to typical *kantharoi* or kraters of east Peloponnesian Argive ware, dating from the end of the seventh to the sixth century. The ceramic workshop where the complete *kantharos* was probably produced was discovered in the modern village of Kourtaki in 1966 (Papachristodhoulou 1969, 131f.; Kosmetatou 1996, 117).

Function. Habitation site: fortification ?

Comments. Wallberg reports that in 1990 trenches, which were laid out against the fortification wall on the lower terraces, contained mixed material of archaic to roman date, indicating habitation of the citadel in these periods and suggesting that the post-mycenaean habitation at Midea was more continuous than has been assumed (French 1991, 24).

Strabo (8.6.11) says that Midea and several other cities were destroyed by the Argives because of disobedience, an event which scholars usually date to the end of the

eighth or seventh century or more likely in the 460s, depending on the identification of the ancient site as Midea (Foley 1988, 178).

Frickenhaus and Müller [W.] 1911, 28.

EF 1955a, 244.

Vollgraff 1956, 33.

Catling 1985, 21.

Touchais 1985, 778.

Foley 1988, 184.

Greek Name. Λευκάκια

1:50000 map reference. 22° 51' 45" E and 37° 33' 30" N.

Location. About 6.5 km east of Náfplio, on the road to Asíni, in the modern village of Lefkákia, around the village square, south of the modern church.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. The Greek Archaeological Service excavated a substantial archaic temple here. The foundations, at some point preserved on two courses, are of rectangular ashlar blocks.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine.

Comments. This might be a temple of Apollo. No previous occupation at this site has been reported.

Frickenhaus and Müller [W.] 1911, 26.

Frödin and Persson 1938.

Kelly 1967, 422-431.

Tomlinson 1972, 42, 75, 226.

Styrenius 1975, 177-183.

Morgan and Whitelaw 1990.

Arkhondidhou-Aryri 1983, 60.

Greek Name. Ασίνη (Παραλία Ασίνης)

1:50000 map reference. 22° 52' 30" E and 37° 31' 45" N.

Location. On the Argolic gulf about 10 km south-east of Náfplio, about 2 km south-east of modern Asíni. The plain of Asine is about 4 km².

Though there is no substantial barrier, Asine forms a separate region of its own, distinct from the open air of the Argive plain.

Excavation. French School, preliminary mapping of the akropolis (Kastráki), 1920; Swedish Institute excavations, 1922-30, and 1970 to present-day.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary and graves.

Habitation site: town or village ?

Asine: The Akropolis

Frödin and Persson 1938, 26.

Leekley and Noyes 1976, 59.

Poulsen [E.] 1994, 9, 14, 17-20.

Location. On a rocky headland, 52 m high, also known as Kastráki.

Excavation. Swedish Institute excavations in 1922-30 and 1971-74.

Finds. Two archaic deposits with terracotta figurines and other objects were found on the akropolis. Among them were horsemen with shields (Poulsen [E.] 1994, 20).

A geometric bronze female figurine was also found on the akropolis (Leekley and Noyes 1976, 59).

About 1500 ceramic sherds and twenty odd other objects coming from the settlement area were selected as belonging to the post-geometric periods. Since the bulk of the fineware is post-geometric bg, we can assume that there is an equally considerable amount of post-geometric plain wares. There were also a few archaic grey wares (Poulsen [E.] 1994, 9).

The earliest pottery fragments dating after the geometric period are three pieces of archaic cups or cup-*skyphoi*, rim fragments of an Attic or Corinthian krater, and a bell krater in rf style (Poulsen [E.] 1994, 14). The belly fragment of a jug also belongs in the earlier part of the period, either to the sixth or fifth century. Many rim fragments are dated to the late seventh century and to the third quarter of the sixth century (Poulsen [E.] 1994, 17). A number of lekane fragments were found, and one of them (no. A189) is Corinthian from the late archaic period (Poulsen [E.] 1994, 18).

Mortars, lamps, and cooking ware were also recovered here (Poulsen [E.] 1994, 19).

Comments. Compared with the substantial remains and deposits of the prehistoric periods, those of the later periods are admittedly rather scanty. The Italian fortification work during World War II has destroyed a good deal of the akropolis. Nonetheless, the visible remains add information of interest to the history of the site and the region as a whole. The inventory of pottery shapes demonstrates that the deposit relates to cult activity and some habitation, perhaps classical (Poulsen [E.] 1994).

Asine: North-west of the Akropolis

Papakhristodhoulou 1969, 132.

Styrenius 1998.

Location. The lower city surrounds the akropolis on the north-west slope.

Excavation. Swedish Institute excavations in 1922-30, and Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. A fifth century cist tomb was reported.

Comments. The vegetation and erosion have destroyed the original three terraces of the lower city, and the site was also severely plundered for stone by Italians during the war.

Asine: Barbouna hill (Levéndhis sector)

Renaudin 1921, 304.

Frödin and Persson 1938, 148-151.

Barrett 1954, 421-444.

Vollgraff 1956, 31.

Wells [B.] 1987-88, 349-352; 1990, 157-161.

Foley 1988, 142-143.

Billot 1992, 35-98.

Hägg 1992a, 18.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 581.

Location. Opposite or north of the akropolis in the north-west direction is the Barbouna Hill. The temple is just west and north-west of the highest point (92 m) on a constructed terrace.

Excavation. Swedish Institute excavations, 1922-30 and 1970-89 on the Levendis Plot.

Features. In the early period the focal point within the *temenos* was a simple, apsidal structure on a narrow stone socle. This building (B) had walls of mud-brick and a thatched roof. It was destroyed about 720.

Another building, Building A, was erected slightly further east. Its early history is somewhat obscure, as pottery found in the trenches by the walls only gives a terminus post quem for its erection at the end of the eighth century. It could be an immediate successor of Building B. It must have been re-built a number of times; in its later phase it measured 4.3 m by 9.6 m and was oriented north-south with a door at the south end slightly off-centre. The building was in two sections, and on three sides of the interior rooms were benches running along the walls. Its walls were of mud-brick.

Finds. In the area of the Building A were found geometric, Protocorinthian, and Corinthian sherds as well as figurines and a few bronze rings and pins. Perhaps the most important find was a small archaic lead statuette, believed to be that of Apollo.

Near the ruins of the temple the excavators found a fragment of marble statue, probably a *kouros* torso (Renaudin 1921, 304, fig. 7).

Large quantities of tiles were found inside Building A. Further, by the outer wall of the north short end, a deposit of tiles of different kinds, both roof-tiles and *simas*, is reported (Wells [B.] 1990, 157-160).

Comments. If the apsidal Building B on the summit of the Barbouna hill is correctly identified with the geometric sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus, then contrary to what Pausanias (2.36.5, 3.7.4, 4.8.3, 4.34.9) says, it was violently destroyed: charcoal mixed with fragments of burnt mud-brick indicate its destruction in the late geometric IIb phase (730-710 BCE). On the other hand, Building B is almost immediately succeeded by the

rectangular Building A, where associated material suggests a period of use from the end of late geometric or sub-geometric through to the fifth century, so there may have been some continuity of cult practice, if not of archaeological installations (Hall [J.] 1995a, 581).

The latest roof decoration of Building A dates to about 500 and is not of local manufacture. Some of the architectural terracottas, at least a *sima*, were perhaps produced in an Argive workshop. In the early fifth century the Asine area was under Argive control, and it may be fairly certain that the cult of Apollo Pythaeus was still highly popular in the first half of the fifth century. After that, rapid decline may have set in (Wells [B.] 1990, 160-161).

Asine: Area 12, North-west of Chamber Tomb 7

Hägg 1962, 87, 89.

Location. In a field south-west of the track, about 300 m north-west of chamber tomb 7.

Excavation. Swedish Institute excavations.

Finds. Some sherds could be archaic or later. These include three fragments from a vase and a lip fragment of an open vessel.

Comments. There are fragments indicating some sort of habitation in the area during the archaic and classical and/or hellenistic periods. However, the precise location of this post-mycenaean habitation has not been established. It is probably to be found in the hitherto unexplored area in the neighbourhood.

Asine: Kamaniola Plot, North-east of the Akropolis

Styrenius and Vidén 1971, 147-148.

Michaud 1971, 874.

Rafn 1979, 9, 11, 13-14, 25-26, 29-30.

Greek Name. KAMANIOΛΑ

Location. In an orchard (now a camping) owned by the brothers Kamaniola, approximately 100 m east of the akropolis, just above the sandy beach.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía investigations, 1969 (E. Protonotariou-Dheīlaki), and Swedish Institute excavations, 1970-72 and 1974.

Features. A total of twelve trenches were dug, ten in the main area and two approximately 25 m further east (Rafn 1979, 9). In the north part of trench 11 there was

found the burial of an adolescent, cist grave 1970-26, partly disturbed by trial trench D4 from the previous year. It was oriented north, north-east by south, south-west and lay at a depth of 2.60 m and was about 1.4 m by 0.35 m by 0.30 m. Only four stone slabs of the cist remained, three of them still *in situ*. No covering slabs were preserved. The body had been placed outstretched on a layer of pebbles with its head to the west and its right arm resting on the pelvis. It was probably the skeleton of a thirteen year old boy.

In 1971 new trenches were opened to the west of the main area, and two more cist graves were found: one was that of a child, grave 1971-78, and the other was that of an adult, grave 1971-79, partly in the same trench. They both had the same orientation, and were constructed as rectangular cists with short and long sides consisting of large upright stone slabs, the gap in between filling with smaller stones. The orthostats as well as the cover stones were rather irregular in size, badly cut, and imperfectly fitted.

The child's grave lay at a depth of 2.22 m and had inner dimensions of 0.60 m by 0.24 m by 0.20 m. The cist was made of six upright standing slabs of limestone, two on each of the long sides, one on each of the short ones, smaller stones filled the gaps in between. It was covered by three large flat stone slabs. At the bottom of the cist was a layer of pebbles on which lay the nearly disintegrated skeleton of a child.

The second grave, 1971-79, extended towards the west from trench W 27.7/N 15.3, through the partition wall into trench W 25.7/N 18.4. The cist lay at a depth of 2.30-2.45 m and was oriented north, north-east by south, south-west, measuring 1.7 m by 0.35 m by 0.30 m. It was built of upright slabs of limestone, three on each of the long sides, and one on each of the short ones with smaller stones between the slabs. Two large flat stones were used as a cover. Probably a third slab had covered the lower end of the grave, but it was missing at the time of excavation. This fairly well preserved skeleton of a young adult female lay outstretched with the hands to the west, left arm along the side, and right arm resting on the pelvis. The grave dates to about 490-470 and is the wealthiest of the three graves.

In general, the first grave dates to about 490-480, the second and the third to about 490-470. The dates given for each of the three graves show that they are not very far from each other in time; in fact they all belong to the transition from the late archaic to the early classical period.

Finds. In the child's grave 1970-26 a single bg kotyle (c. 490-480) lay very close to the right leg, almost covering the knee (Styrenius and Vidén 1971, 147, fig. 1; Rafn 1979,

11). This pot is a very common vase shape for funeral as well as for daily use (Rafn 1979, 25; also Styrenius and Vidén 1971, 147).

Grave 1971-78, also a child's grave, contained seven pots: a painted tripod pyxis, four kotylai with pattern decoration, a bg miniature krater, a bg cup (similar cup found at Lerna) all dating from the early fifth century. The pyxis is a shape very often found in a child's grave, and this vessel may have held contents of some nature. The miniature vessels were perhaps meant as toys for the child (Rafn 1979, 25).

Grave 1971-79 contained many gifts: an Attic cup, which is a very common shape among grave offerings, and six so-called White style pyxides (three large and three small) and two of their lids, which in Korinthos is a rare find in the graves. Apparently the convex pyxis was more popular as a grave gift in the Argolid, where it has been found in several graves at Árgos (Papaspiridhi-Karouzou, 1938, 18). The grave also held other offerings besides pottery: a fragmentary glass vase, a bronze pin-head, a fragment of an iron pin, a bronze pendant or pin-head, and a pair of iron reinforcements for sandals. It did not appear that the sandals had originally been worn on the feet, rather that they were placed beside the body. They were made of one piece.

Iron reinforcements for sandals very similar to the pair from Asine were found at Halieis in a grave from the first half of the fifth century, actually sitting on the feet of the skeleton (Rudolph 1983, 73). Solid footwear must have been needed for walking the rough terrain (Rafn 1979, 26).

Of the fifteen pots found in the three graves at Asine only one, the cup 1971-8.9, is an Attic import. Most of the other pots are Corinthian; they include the only offering in the boy's grave, the four small kotylai, and the pyxides. The miniature krater and the tripod pyxis, the cup and the small pyxis, are neither Corinthian nor Attic. The four pots are all of the same fabric, probably all from a local workshop, either at Asine or elsewhere in the Argolid (Rafn 1979, 29).

Comments. The three graves from Kamaniola Plot belonged to a period not represented in the earlier excavations at Asine, the early fifth century. It was believed that the site was uninhabited during the years c. 700-300 (Rafn 1979, 9). The finds just mentioned may to some extent lead to a reconsideration of this conclusion.

No traces of walls or houses were found in connection with the graves, but a few sherds seemingly belonging to the fifth century were found in the excavated area (Rafn 1979, 30).

Judging from the three graves the inhabitants of Asine built their graves less carefully than it is known from other places. The graves were carefully laid out, however, all with the same orientation, and in at least two graves the bodies had been placed in an outstretched position with their heads to the west. The three burials differed from each other in their contents (Rafn 1979, 25).

The choice of pottery in the graves reveals that Corinthian pots were preferred to Attic and to local ones (Rafn 1979, 30).

Daux 1963a, 736-759.

Megaw 1963, 16.

Alexandri 1964, 525-530.

Dheílaki-Protonotariou 1965, 65-66.

Tomlinson 1972, 42.

Balcer 1974, 149.

Foley 1988, 150, 183.

Hall [J.] 1995a, 597.

Greek Name. ‘Άγιος Αδριανός (Προφήτης Ηλίας)

1:50000 map reference. 22° 52' 30" E and 37° 36' 15" N.

Location. In the south-east part of the central Argive plain, about 5.5 km east of Tiryns and 3 km east of Néa Tíryns, on a hill 2.5 km north-west of the Áyios Adhrianós, where the chapel of Profitis Ilías can be seen.

From this area (also called Katsíngri) one gets a good view of Mykenai, Prosymna, Midea, and Asine.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. The chapel rests on a temple foundation; the *sekos* (6.6 m by 13 m) was divided by an axial wall and oriented east-west. The exterior walls were built of large rough stones, with a mud-brick superstructure.

Finds. In a trial excavation in 1962 Dheílaki-Protonotariou discovered an archaic votive deposit. Archaic sherds, including miniature skyphoi and figurines, pins, fibulae, and a small bronze phiale were found in a sounding opened within the foundation; roman sherds were found outside the walls.

Nearby a small cave yielded a further deposit of ceramic and metal objects; the most important find was a lead porpi, some kind of belt attachment, carrying a scene with female, who wears a long khiton and polos, and a male who clasps his cloak.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine.

Comments. This small temple was probably dedicated to Hera (Hall [J.] 1995a, 597). It was put on the same spot as building from mycenaean times.

On the south side of the hill were found Cyclopean walls, suggesting that the akropolis is fortified in mycenaean times.

On the slopes of the hill on which the temple and chapel are situated are terraces, which may indicate the position of an ancient settlement, perhaps Lessa. Pausanias (2.25.9-10) mentions that the temple to Athena was on the classical road from Tiryns to

the Asklepieíon at ancient Epidauros. This classical road may well have followed the path of the earlier mycenaean road. The earlier mycenaean road went from Mykenai to Prosymna, continued south-east past Dendra and Midea, passing east of Áyios Adhrianós and then across the bridge at Kazárma east towards the mycenaean settlement at ancient Epidauros. Within the region of Kazárma where the mountain ridges converge to form a narrow east pass, the road converged (perhaps between Áyios Adhrianós and Kazárma) with a second mycenaean road, a road from Tiryns past the region of the dam and Áyios Adhrianós to Kazárma (Balcer 1974, 149).

The boundary of Argos, however, should be further to the east, while Áyios Adhrianós is hardly on the direct line of the road from Midea to ancient Epidauros, which is more likely to have passed further to the north, under the slopes of Mt. Árakhnaio. If so, both the name of Áyios Adhrianós and the precise position of Lessa must remain uncertain (Tomlinson 1972, 42).

Wells [B.], Runnels, and Zangger 1990, 217-238.

Wells [B.] 1994, 65-76.

Ekroth 1996.

Greek Name. Λίμνες

1:50000 map reference. 22°53' E and 37° 42' 45" N.

Location. East of the Berbatí valley, upland, on a plateau.

Excavation. Swedish Institute, Berbati-Limnes intensive survey, 1988-90. Their survey permit did not include the village of Limnés.

Finds. In all only nine geometric/archaic sherds and two roof-tile fragments were noted in the whole of the Limnes region. They are very dispersed.

In Tract 34 a Corinthian pan-tile fragment was found. Further south close to the modern village of Limnes, another Corinthian pan-tile was picked up in Tract 182 and from Tract 181 came three geometric/archaic undiagnostic sherds. At Findspot 44, located on the north slopes of Vigliza, a geometric or archaic base of a krater or an amphora was found. In Tract 157 one archaic sherd was found. In Tract 3 on the north slopes of Kondovouni four undiagnostic tile fragments and three most likely archaic sherds were picked up. In Tract 12, to the south of the Mykenaian road, one undiagnostic bg archaic sherd was found. Two archaic sherds came from Tract 107, north of Brekon hill, one of which come from a bowl with handles attached to the rim (Ekroth 1996, 212).

Function. Habitation site: field building ?

Comments. Prósymni and Limnés are geographically close but still lie worlds apart.

The people from Limnés look north to Korinthos; while those from Prósymni look towards the Argive plain. Only in 1967 was the road between the two villages modernised to facilitate communication between the two areas.

B. THE AKTE

The east finger of land projecting some 70 km from the Peloponnesos just below its juncture with central Greece at the Isthmos of Kórinthos was referred to in antiquity as the Argolic Akte (meaning peninsula). The earliest extant use of the name Akte for this part of the Argolid is in the historian Polybios (5.91.4) of the second century. It is also used by Diodoros (12.43) in the next century speaking of Athenian raids on the area in 420, and since he diverges from the chief authority for the period, Thucydides, he may be copying information and terminology from the fourth century historian Ephoros (Jameson 1976b, 90 n3).

Surface surveys of the Akte were first conducted by members of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens beginning in 1909 and by Philadhelpheus in the same year in connection with brief excavations he conducted at Ermióni and Portokhéli on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Society. It was not until 1972 that the first systematic survey (mainly of the southern Argolid) took place with a team of various specialists under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

B.ii. The Region of Epidauria

Nomós Argolídhos: Eparkhía Nafplías and Eparkhía Ermionídhos

The Epidauria, at the upper end of the Akte, is the largest of the three regions of the Akte. Much of it lay along the Saronikos gulf, east of the Argeia, but it also straddled the peninsula with two small coastal plains on the Argolic gulf, at Kántia and Íria. The settlement of Epidauros was on the Saronikos gulf at what is now known as Old Epidauros (Palaía Epídhavros). Access by land (before 1973, when a motorway opened) was difficult from the Isthmos of Kórinthos, but would have been much easier from the Argeia along valleys running east-west. On the road from Epidauros to Argos lay the city's chief sanctuaries of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios, near the modern village of Lygoúrio.

Áyios Ilías (Mt. Arakhnaío)

A-25

Hägg 1992a, 19.

Greek Name. Άγιος Ηλίας (Αραχναίων)

1:50000 map reference. 23° 00-01' E and 37° 38' N.

Location. On Mt. Arakhnaío, north-west of the sanctuary at Epidauros and north of Kazárma.

Mt. Arakhnaío forms a shallow east-west crescent on the east border of the Argeia. It is divided into two main peaks: the long, lower twin summited east peak (1139 m) is called either Arna or Mavrovouni, while the higher pointed west peak (1199 m) is called Áyios Ilías.

Traces of ancient road connecting the north and south sides of the mountain via the saddle can still be seen (and used) immediately to the east of the *cavea*-like area and on the south edge of the saddle. A modern unimproved road begins at the top of the *cavea*, goes over the saddle, and then down the gently sloping north valley to the modern village of Arakhnaío (Rupp 1976, 262).

Excavation. Unexcavated.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine.

Habitation site: farmstead.

Áyios Ilías: The Saddle Site

Langdon 1976, 107-108.

Rupp 1976, 264.

Location. Between the two peaks, where the river Maryéri runs.

Features. A large outcropping of limestone is enclosed on the north, east, and west sides by rubble walls, in places preserved to a height of four metres. Within the walls the earth is thick but unburned.

Finds. There are numerous coarse wares and obsidian chips to be found, but nothing archaic.

Comments. There were no traces of any type of altar or sacrificial debris here. The location, layout, and finds suggest that it is the probable location, from the bronze age onward, of a small village or farming settlement that utilised the fertile soil of the *cavea*-

like area to the south and the grazing lands in the saddle and on the slopes of the mountain.

Clearly these scant remains do not support the placing in this area of the altars of Zeus and Hera (Paus. 2.25.10).

Áyios Ilías: The Summit

Rupp 1974, 130-132; 1976, 264-265.

Langdon 1976, 107-108.

Foley 1988, 176.

Location. Directly to the west of the saddle, on a small elongated plateau with a series of level areas at different elevations at the summit.

Features. Three archaeological and two architectural features were surveyed. Remains of walls were found. Both foundations are sizeable rectangular constructions, one roughly 13 m by 6 m, the other 12 m by 5 m. There is also a semi-circular area defined by crude low rubble walls and natural rock outcroppings. A rough terrace wall forms its south side; both the walls and the outcropping provide a windbreak for the level interior area.

Finds. Three sherd concentrations and burnt animal bones in a fine dark-brown soil matrix were located on the summit. In the first concentration is fine dark soil with burnt bone fragments and numerous sherds, mainly open shape vessels: one-handled cups, kylikes, skyphoi, and bowls, dating from the archaic period with an admixture of some classical bg ware.

The second concentration (eighth-seventh century) about 20 m to the south-east of the benchmark and 10 m to the east of the first concentration, is situated on a slight rocky slope and extends almost 4 m along the slope and 2.5 m up. Numerous late geometric sherds and some Protocorinthian (c. 720-640) and early Argive archaic (c. 690-650) sherds were observed with the same predominance of open shapes.

The third concentration with a diameter of about 2 m lies 10 m to the north-east of the benchmark. These sherds appear to be mostly archaic but again with some classical bg sherds.

Fragments of curved terracotta pan-tiles and cover-tiles were found in the general area of the two foundations.

Comments. All of the above ceramic material suggests a continuous period of use of the summit from the second half of the eighth century through at least the sixth century with sporadic use probably into the roman era.

The interpretation of the two foundations is difficult. There are two possible explanations. First, that they represent the foundations of *naiskoi* or small temples; second, that one or both represent the enclosure walls for the open air *temene* of Zeus and Hera with their altars located inside them. These altars could have been either simple ash altars, on or around natural rock platforms, or simple built-altars. The walls could have served as windbreaks as well as delimiting the *temene*. The concentrations of sherds could then represent the sacred refuse piles that would have resulted from the periodic cleaning of the *temene*. But why do we have no indications of entrances into these areas?

Pausanias mentions nothing other than two altars on the mountain top. His report, however, is not based on personal observation, and offers no detailed description of the place. Most mountaintop sanctuaries of Zeus have no formal architectural elements or plans, but consist only of an accumulation of burnt animal bones, ashes, fragments of votive pottery, and earth often found around an outcropping of rock. *Naiskoi* or small temples are very rare in these mountaintop sanctuaries and Pausanias' informant(s) would not have overlooked these structures, if they or their ruins had existed. Therefore the concentrations of sherds, ash, and burnt animal bones on the mountaintop would be the best candidates for the location of the two ash altars. Most likely the altars would have stood in and around the first concentration, from where one has a clear view to the south of the probable site of ancient Lessa at Kazárma, and the valley to the south of Mt. Arákhnaion. If this hypothesis is correct, then the function of the other two concentrations remains unclear (Rupp 1976, 267). What is clear is that the altars of Zeus and Hera mentioned by Pausanias were located on the summit of the Áyios Ilías peak of Mt. Arákhnaion and not in the saddle between it and the Arna peak as was previously thought (Rupp 1976, 267-268; Foley 1988, 176).

Touchais 1978, 670.

Foley 1988, 182.

Greek Name. Ἰρία

1:50000 map reference. 23° 01' E and 37° 29' 15" N.

Location. Just over 1 km from the Argolic gulf (the bay of Toló), in a coastal valley, south-east of Dhrépano, at the modern town of the same name.

Excavation. Unknown.

Finds. Sherds of the geometric to the hellenistic periods have been recovered and in both the late helladic and classical periods the site was fortified.

Function. Habitation site: farmstead ?

Comments. The upper part of the valley in the plain of Íria has excellent farmland and may have been in dispute between the three principal cities of the Akte: Epidauros, Hermione, and Halieis (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 22).

Lessa ? (Ligourió)

A- 27

EF 1950a, 302-305.

Tomlinson 1972, 42.

Foley 1988, 186-187.

Greek Name. Λυγούριον

1:50000 map reference. 23° 03' E and 37° 36' 30" N.

Location. Near Ligourió, about 800 m east of modern Khoutalaíika on the road from Náfplio to Palaiá Epídhavros.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. Some scholars place the ancient community of Lessa on the slopes that dominate the village of Ligourió. The polygonal walls, most probably archaic, which are still visible at the top of the hill, deserve to be studied.

Function. Habitation site: fortification.

Comments. The excavator believes that the most ancient sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, at a distance of only 3 km, was related to this akropolis, which was destroyed by the Epidaurians who introduced the cult of Asklepios (EF 1950a, 304).

Tomlinson (1972, 42) suggests that either the site of the archaic temple at Áyios Adhrianós or better the hilltop fortress at Katsíngri might be the location of Lessa.

Kavvadhias 1891, 92-96; 1900a; 1990b, 103-105.

Homolle 1891, 650.

Faraklas 1972.

Kritzas 1972, 186-199.

Catling 1978, 28; 1980, 30; 1989, 28.

Lambrinoudhakis 1980a, 187-194; 1981, 111-121; 1990, 174-185; 1991, 52-65.

Arkholdidhou-Aryri 1980, 358-360.

Kolokotsas 1990, 141-148.

Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 81.

Greek Name. Ιερόν Ασκληπιού και Ναός Απόλλωνος

1:50000 map reference. 23° 05' E and 37° 36' N.

Location. The Asklepieío and the temple of Apollo at Epidauros are located on the road to Pálaia Epídavros, just after the town of Ligourió.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Kavvadhias and Stais excavated at the sanctuary at Epidauros beginning in 1881, uncovering the theatre, various temples, the gymnasium, and associated buildings in the area. Martin [R.] and Metzger (1942-43) investigated parts of the site including the temple of Asklepios in 1945. Between 1948 and 1951, Papadimitriou worked at the site, but concentrated mainly on the temple of Apollo Maleatas on the heights east of the sanctuary. Most of the finds were of the archaic period. Lambrinoudhakis and Mitsos resumed work on the site in 1974 (Leekley and Noyes 1976, 61).

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary.

Comments. From the late sixth century the Epidauros festival had been patronised by outsiders, such as Delphi.

Epidauros Sanctuaries: The Temple of Apollo on Mt. Kynortion

Papadimitriou 1949, 361-383.

EF 1950a, 304; 1950b, 315-316; 1952, 218-223.

Aupert 1976, 607.

Orlandhos [K.] 1978, 98-105.

Lambrinoudhakis 1979, 29; 1980a, 187-194; 1980b, 39-63; 1980c, 473-486; 1981, 111-121,.

Touchais 1977, 551; 1979, 599-561; 1988, 627.

Catling 1979, 18.

Tomlinson 1983, 92-94.

Mylonas 1988, 92-96.

Foley 1988, 147-148.

Billot 1990, 95-139.

Hägg 1992a, 19.

Location. On the slopes of Mt. Kynortion, east of the Asklepieíon sanctuary.

There must have been a direct route from the east side of the lower sanctuary to the upper, but at present this is blocked by the perimeter fence surrounding the main archaeological zone, the lower sanctuary. To reach the Ireó Maleáta sanctuary the visitor has to return along the modern road towards Ligourió. At the first house on the right hand side of this road (leaving the sanctuary) a dirt track branches off to the north. Another track to the right soon leads in a generally east direction, passing the perimeter of the main archaeological zone close to the remains of the *Propylon*. From here the track climbs steadily until it reaches a farmhouse. Up to this point it is just about passable for cars; beyond the farm it is not. Just before the farm, on the south side of the track, is a large cistern (Tomlinson 1983, 92-93).

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. Below the paving in the south area of the *cella* of the classical temple was part of an earlier wall, evidently of the sixth century to be associated with the archaic predecessor of the classical temple. It has not (yet) been properly published.

About 7 m north of the grand retaining wall of the sanctuary a second retaining wall was constructed in large *poros* blocks (EF 1952, 221).

An altar of the seventh century consisted of two elliptical stone rings (Touchais 1977, 551).

Among the finds from the rectangular *poros* Building E of the great altar, originally dug by Kavvadhias, were two rustic votive altars, inscribed *αρταμιτος | αγεμονας*, and *απολ[λωνος | δειραδι[ωτα]* (SEG 38.320-321; Catling 1989, 28; Touchais 1988, 627; Mylonas 1988, 96). Nothing of this is now visible. The classical altar has been erected on top of the archaic one (Touchais 1979, 561). The archaic altar was connected to the temple by a path, not by steps (Catling 1980, 30).

Finds. Over one hundred small *kotylai*, many alabasters and other vases, especially Corinthian and Attic (EF 1950a, 304), rings, mirrors, two bronze wheels, pins, knives and swords, arrowheads, double-axes, gold leaves from wreaths, the left foot of an archaic bronze figurine, a small lead kouros, and a large number of terracotta figurines were recovered in a burnt deposit found to the north-east of the classical temple (EF 1950a, 304, fig. 15; Aupert 1976, 607; Touchais 1979, 561, fig. 81). A terracotta lion-spout belonged to the archaic temple (Epidauros Mus.: O 15/57 and P 16/72). Other architectural terracottas have been attributed to Epidauros; they include hexagonal antefixes (Epidauros Mus.: ME απ 353 and 381; Billot 1990, 107, fig. 5).

Numerous finds were discovered in the north-east corner of the temple. They include burnt animal bones, many miniatures vases (*kotylai*, an alabaster decorated with a female figure--Artemis), Attic bf cups, figurines, and metal objects. A graffito, inscribed ΛΑΔΕΜ (= λαδης), was also found on a small sherd (Papadimitriou 1949, figs. 8-10).

From the fill predating the classical temple's construction was recovered a bronze plaque with an inscription dated to c. 475-450 (Orlandhos [K.] 1978, 105, fig. 63; Touchais 1978, 672, fig. 71).

Archaic sherds, including a large rf krater of the mid-fifth century, were found near the retaining wall (EF 1952, 221).

Comments. The relatively high proportion of Argive dedications at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas most probably reflects Argos' interest (especially access to the gulf) in the area from the early seventh century. The bronze plaque with four corner holes shows that it had once been fastened to a temple wall.

Epidauros Sanctuaries: The Temple of Asklepios

Kavvadhias 1900a.

Martin [R.] and Metzger 1942-3, 329.

Burford 1969.

Tomlinson 1983.

Location. On the plain at the foot of Mt. Kynortion, in the area of the lower sanctuary.

Excavation. Greek Eforeia excavations.

Features. Within the limits of the site of Building E is a small structure in the north-west corner, which may have been a shrine or small temple dedicated to Apollo.

Perhaps the foundation of a ground altar was found west of Building E (the old *Abaton*). It is nearly square and consists of three concentric sets of limestone slabs; its

innermost square is dated to the sixth century, which would make it the oldest surviving structure in the sanctuary.

One other feature belongs to the early period, and that is a well (A), probably of the late sixth century. It was essential to the practices of the healing cult.

Finds. In the area of the Abaton and its annexes, the interior walls of room one held a large quantity of Attic bf sherds from the mid-sixth to the mid-fifth centuries: fragments of mid-sixth century kothon; a fragment of early fifth century panathenaic amphora; and a fragment of mid-fifth century white-ground cup with a winged genie.

In the courtyard of Building E was excavated an ash layer which was probably debris spread from the altar. The ash contained burnt animal bones and votives dedicated to Apollo (Pythaeus) and Asklepios, which are the earliest finds excavated in the sanctuary (Tomlinson 23, 75).

Comments. It seems therefore that the building was erected during the mid-fifth century, in a place previously consecrated to cult activities (Martin [R.] and Metzger 1942-3, 329).

Faraklas 1972, 12, figs. 11a, 12b, 14a-b, 16a, 17b.
Foley 1988, 180.

Greek Name. Γυφτόκαστρο

1:50000 map reference. 23° 06' 30" E and 37° 31' N.

Location. South of Mt. Koryphaon, about 1 km south-west of modern Stavropódhion and about 6 km north-east of Karnezaíika, actually now part of the Eparkhía Ermionídhos.

Excavation. Surface survey, Faraklas.

Features. From the archaic period there was probably a sanctuary and a settlement here. The site was also fortified from archaic times onwards.

Finds. Surface finds were noted.

Function. Habitation site: fortification.

Comments. The site was re-occupied in the archaic period.

Hyrnithion (Yrníthion)

A-30

Faraklas 1972, 11, figs. 14a to 17b.

Fossey 1987, 76.

Foley 1988, 181-182.

Greek Name Υρνήθιον

1:50000 map reference. 23° 07' 30" E and 37° 38' N.

Location. Immediately south-west of hellenistic and roman Hyrnithion, about 3.5 km south of the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary at ancient Epidauros.

Excavation. Surface survey, Faraklas.

Features. Faraklas notes the existence of an archaic sanctuary here, though its date is far from certain.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary.

Comments. Perhaps this is the sanctuary of Artemis Koryphaia.

Epidaurus (Palaiá Epídhavros)

A-31

Faraklas 1972, 11.

Arkhondidhou-Aryri 1983, 59-60.

Touchais 1977, 554.

Greek Name. Επίδαυρος (Παλαιά Επίδαυρος)

1:50000 map reference. 23° 10' E and 37° 38' N.

Location. On the east coast of the Argolid, in a sheltered harbour between two small capes.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

In 1888 Stais excavated seven mycenaean chamber tombs near the harbour. Papadimitriou later investigated the site and described various remains. Protonotariou-Dheílaki excavated the theatre in 1970. Kritzas and Whittlesey surveyed the underwater remains.

Function. Habitation site: town or village ?

Comments. Palaiá Epídhavros has a harbour, settlement, and sanctuary. There are remains of fortification walls and the ruins of a small temple. A nekropolis of geometric to roman times has been discovered at 'Mínia' about 1.5 km from the city of Palaiá Epídhavros (Leekley and Noyes 1976, 61-62). Unfortunately, the material from this region remains largely unpublished.

Epidaurus: South-east of the Town

Faraklas 1972, 46-47.

Foley 1988, 192.

Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 80.

Location. About 500 m south-east of the modern town of the same name on the east coast of the Epidauria region.

Excavation. Unknown.'

Features. A sizeable temple has been excavated with remains of Protocorinthian, classical, and later votives. There are also fortified circuit walls (Foley 1988, 192).

Finds. There is much geometric to hellenistic pottery; the material remains largely unpublished.

Comments. Perhaps this is the sixth century sanctuary of Artemis (Koruphias or Koryphaia ?) (Paus. 2.29.1).

Epidauros: Mínia on Cape Kléftis

EF 1952, 221.

Papakhristodhoulou 1969, 133.

Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 80.

Greek Name. Μίνια (Άκρ. Κλέφτης)

Location. To the right of the pedestrian street in the modern town, about 1.5 km south-east from it.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Features. Fourteen cist graves date from geometric to roman times. Perhaps some are archaic.

Finds. On top of the hill, among numerous fragments of sculptures, Papadimitriou found the lower half of the torso of an archaic kouros (EF 1952, 221).

Epidauros: Katsimilis Plot at Katarághi

Touchais 1984, 760; 1985, 778.

Catling 1984, 26.

Arkondidhou-Aryri 1983, 59-60.

Greek Name. ΚΑΤΣΙΜΙΛΙΣ, Καταράχη ?

Location. Where remains of a sanctuary (probably classical) were found, at a place called Kataráki.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1975.

Features. Levelling work here destroyed the south wall of a substantial building.

Finds. They found a small bronze kore dating to about 600 mixed in with archaic pottery (Touchais 1984, 750, fig. 47; Catling 1984, 26, fig. 36).

Comments. The statue is associated with a temple.

The statue is of Laconian influence and shows the conservatism of the time.

B.iii.a. The Southern Argolid: The Region of Halieis

Nomós Argolídhos: Eparkhía Ermionídhos

The territory of Halieis includes the Flámboura plain, the western end of the peninsula, the commune of Portokhéli, and half of that of Kranídhi, together with the island of Spetses (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 18 n.c).

Dhoroúfi (Dhouroúfi) Ridge

A-32

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 437-438, no. B2.

Greek Name. Δορούφι

1:50000 map reference. 23° 06' 30" E and 37° 24' N.

Location. In the region of Kranídhī, on the north and north-east slopes of a hill near the coast, approximately 2 km south of Koiládha.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. The foundations of two farmsteads were discovered in a terraced field.

Finds. The survey team found thirty-four archaic sherds, including cups, kraters, and domestic wares, Laconian and Corinthian roof-tiles, resembling those from the temple of Apollo at Halieis.

Function. Habitation site: farmsteads.

Comments. The site was probably connected with Mases in the archaic period.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 478, no. D9.

Greek Name. Άγιος Ιωάννης Καρτέρης

1:50000 map reference. 23° 07' 30" E and 37° 27' N.

Location. Approximately 4.5 km south-west of Dhídhyma village, in a coastal plain by a small modern chapel in an area known as Salánti on the sea.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Only two bg sherds were reported.

Function. Habitation site: farmstead.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 467, no. C12.

Greek Name. Βίστα

1:50000 map reference. 23° 07' 30" E and 37° 24' 30" N.

Location. On a low hill that forms the north end of a north-south ridge, about 600 m south of Koiládha.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. A small number of archaic sherds was found.

Function. Habitation site: farmstead.

Special-purpose site: shrine?

Comments. The site was a settlement with a possible shrine.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 508, no. F4.

Greek Name. Άγιος Ιωάννης

1:50000 map reference. 23° 08' E and 37° 25' 45" N.

Location. On a rocky promontory 4 km west of Fournoi village and about 700 m north of Fránkhthi cave, on the coast.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Sherds were found.

Function. Habitation site: village.

Greek Name. Μάσης (Ορμ. Κοιλάδος)

1:50000 map reference. 23° 08' E and 37° 25' 30" N.

Location. In terraced agricultural fields on the west slopes of the Fránkhthi headland, about 1.3 km east of Koiládha across the bay. It is also known as Lófos Fránkhthi.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Function. Habitation site: town.

Comments. The inland valley of Loutró, to the east of the Koiládha Kámbos, and the small coastal valleys to the south (Dhóroufi and Lákkas) are likely to have been attached to Mases in the archaic period (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 34).

Mases: The Temple Terrace on the Fránkhthi Headland

Dengate [J.] 1975, 149.

Foley 1988, 179-180.

Billot 1992, 42-43.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 469, no. C17.

Location. On the west slope of the Fránkhthi headland.

Excavation. Unexcavated, surface study of architectural features by Dengate.

Features. A terrace wall of large boulders and roughly worked blocks is probably archaic in date and may have been built to support the foundations of a temple.

Finds. The survey team identified fluted columns, antefixes, Doric capitals, and ashlar blocks belonging to the temple. There are reports of a metope-like relief showing a boar found in this general vicinity. Other architectural remains were observed submerged in the bay to the west of the temple terrace; balloon photographs show traces of apparently rectangular structures or moles. Over two hundred and fifty sherds (several miniature cups), heavy Corinthian roof-tiles, loom-weights, spools, and a figurine have been recovered. One part of an antefix with traces of dark red colour was recovered, but nothing more is known of this roof, except that is it similar to the Halieis-style roof of the temple of Apollo.

Comments. The foundations and the architectural remains of a terrace indicate the presence of an archaic sanctuary (of Apollo) and perhaps even a settlement.

In the archaic period Mases would have become a unit in the polis of Hermione.

Mases: Magoúla Evstratiou

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 466-467, no. C11.

Greek Name. Μαγούλα Ευστρατίου

Location. On an artificial mound, located in the Kámbos about 1.5 km south-east of Koiládha and 500 m from the present shoreline.

Finds. The team found some worked blocks and sherds.

Comments. This site is a settlement.

Mases: Near Modern Quarry

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 474-475, no. C41.

Location. At the entrance to a modern limestone quarry, at the south end of the Fránkhthi headland, about 1.8 km east of Koiládha.

Finds. The survey team found two bg sherds from a krater and a kalathiskos .

Comments. The site was undoubtedly the nekropolis of classical Mases.

Greek Name. Φράγχθη

1:50000 map reference. 23° 08' E and 37° 25' 30" N.

Location. On the west coast of the east peninsula on the Argolic gulf, about 5 km north of the modern town of Kranídhion and about 300 m south-east of Koiládha, across the bay.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Function. Habitation site: village ?

Fránkhthi: The Fránkhthi Hill

Faraklas 1973, figs. 8a-b.

Foley 1988, 179-180.

Location. At a place called Fránkhthi Hill, north of the cave.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. Faraklas (1973, figs. 8a-b) reports remains of a settlement in the archaic period.

Comments. The site was apparently a harbour and may be the site of ancient Mases.

Fránkhthi: The Fránkhthi Cave

Jacobsen 1979, 276.

Foley 1988, 179-180.

Location. Inside the cave.

Excavation. American School excavations.

Finds. Archaic sherds were found in an around the cave.

Comments. It is not until the late archaic or early classical times that Fránkhthi cave seems to have been visited by more than perhaps the odd shepherd. Finds, regrettably unstratified, from both the forepart and the rear of the cave suggest that it may have served a cult purpose in the historical periods. Unfortunately the excavators do not know as yet what deity or deities were worshipped here, but the Nymphs and/or Pan would be reasonable possibilities. Nor do they know the length of time that the site was utilised as a place of worship, but the discovery of roman lamps testify to its use at least until then.

Michaud 1971, 875.

Jameson 1968, 311-342; 1974a, 74; 1976c, 233-236; 1979, 261-264.

Baladie 1980, 216.

Foley 1988, 149, 194.

Dengate [C.] 1988, 199, 231-234.

Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 117-118.

Cooper [N.] 1989, 33-46; 1990, 65-93.

Billot 1992, 35-98.

Bergquist 1990a, 23-37.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 435-436, no. A65.

Greek Name. Αλιείς (Πορτοχέλιον)

1:50000 map reference. 23° 09' E and 37° 19' N.

Location. At the south-west end of the Hermionis across the bay from modern Portokhéli, now partly submerged in the sea.

The harbour is roughly oval in shape with a diameter at the present time of about 1.5 km north-west to south-east and a little less than 1 km north-east to south-west. It is connected to the Argolic gulf by a channel about 1.5 km long and its narrowest, 250 m wide. The south and east sides of the harbour have been subject to a marked increase in sea level, so that the edge of the classical town is now submerged to a depth of over 2 m (Jameson 1969, 311, 315).

Excavation. German Institute and American School investigations, Greek Eforeía rescue excavations, American School excavations.

Unpublished notes were made by Frickenhaus and W. Müller in 1909, Wrede in 1926, and Jameson and his wife in 1950 and thereafter on a number of visits. Excavations other than clandestine were confined to some brief tests in 1909 for the Archaeological Society of Athens by Philadhelpheus (notebook and short publication in *Πρακτικά* 1909, 182) and to salvage work on a number of graves in the nekropolis of the ancient town in 1958-59 by Verdhelis, the Ephor of Argolid-Corinthia (Jameson 1969, 311).

Function. Habitation site: town.

Comments. The site occupies two areas, an akropolis and a lower town. From the late seventh to the fifth centuries buildings were constructed on the akropolis; the fortifications themselves date to the seventh century but were destroyed c. 580-600. The akropolis suffered destruction at various times from the sixth century onwards.

By the early sixth century this flourishing city had an orthogonal plan, one of the earliest cities in Greece to be planned in this way.

Three sanctuaries were discovered here: one of Athena on the akropolis dated to the early sixth century, one of Demeter outside the city, east of the akropolis, and one of Apollo submerged into the north-west part of the harbour dating from the early seventh century

It is evident that the site was inhabited before the coming of the Tirynthians in the early fifth century, although no literary reference to it before their immigration had been found. On archaeological evidence alone we cannot say whether the arrival of the Tirynthians was a violent or peaceful one. Maybe the destruction of the second quarter of the fifth century was due to resistance to them or the result of the Athenian attack of c. 460, or even a peaceful reorganisation and enlargement. Occurrence in the later fifth century of graffiti in alphabets that were in the local East Argolic rather than in the Argive-Tiryns suggests a mixed garrison or population of natives and immigrants. No sure sign of Athenian occupation in the late fifth century has been detected (Jameson 1969, 321).

Sometime before 430 a single Spartan is said to have captured the town.

Halieis: The Temple of Apollo in the Harbour

Michaud 1972, 651.

Jameson 1973, 219-231; 1974b, 111-119; 1974c, 114-119; 1976c, 234-236; 1979, 261-262.

Mazarakis-Ainian 1988, 105-119.

Bergquist 1990a, 23-37.

Billot 1992, 42.

Location. Outside the city, only a short distance along the shore of the harbour, submerged in the sea. The building lies about 1.5 m under water, from 10 m to 40 m from the shore and some 600 m north of the city gate on the way to Hermione.

Excavation. American School excavations.

Features. The long and narrow temple measures 4.5 m by 28 m and has walls, unique for this site, of flattish dark grey limestone slabs finished only on their outer face (cf. the construction of the shrine of Apollo at Asine). It has three chambers, a *pronaos*, but no peristyle. It opens to the south facing the altar, where a short *pronaos* leads to the *sekos* (8 m) over a wide, carefully cut threshold of limestone resting on heavy *poros* foundations. Half way down the *sekos* are two large blocks of *poros*, off centre to the

west, with a smaller base behind them which supported a post or column. The place between the base and the cross-wall to the north was excavated.

Beyond the cross wall a much longer rear chamber contains at least four column bases, set at irregular intervals and originally fluted in circular upper parts. The rectangular plinth of most of the south base was left rough below a point at which they assume to be the floor level, about 13 m below the top of the walls (Jameson 1974c, 116). Two (one single rough circle, the other, two semi-circles) supported columns along the central axis of the building in the north part of the rear chamber (the northernmost room). It is possible that the latter were a replacement for an earlier series, and that the processing of replacing the bases began at the front of the building and did not reach the rear end (Jameson 1979, 262).

In all three chambers, against the inner face of the outside wall of the building, were found a total of seven semi-circular bases of dark grey limestone, which permit the restoration of an original spacing of about 1.5 m. The excavators conjecture that they served as bases for wooden columns whose back side would have been engaged in the mud-brick resting above the limestone walls. No doubt both the free-standing and engaged columns were thought to be necessary for the support of a roofing system of large terracotta tiles, sufficient remains of each have now been recovered to undertake restoration. The width of the building and the spacing of the bases along the sides are close to those of the earliest temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Jameson 1979, 262).

As a finishing touch the walls were plastered on the inside and perhaps on the outside. On the inside the plaster bore traces of painted designs.

Finds. A multitude of finds were reported from this building. Two bases of perirrhanteria (lustral basins) were found near a statue base in the front chamber.

Behind the statue base, in the so-called treasury, much pottery was found, including Attic bf and rf pottery, Corinthian aryballoi, over two hundred miniature skyphoi, and kotylai. There was a lot of metal, including a votive wheel, a bronze ram utensil, inscribed iron keys (ταπολλον[ος]), a keyhole frame, an inscribed bronze plaque, iron axe-adzes, a double axe, a hoard of silver coins, iron bars and spits, iron and bronze knives, swords, and spear points. The spits were used for roasting meat; while the other tools may have been used for sacrifices or in the building of the temple and thereafter dedicated to Apollo (see Appendix B). A great deal of animal bones, amber from the Baltic, an ostrich eggshell from Africa, a rock crystal point, and a terracotta figurine were reported as well.

The middle room also yielded pottery, bronze protomai of animals, iron and bronze knives, swords and spearheads, and animal bones.

The north or rear room produced over five thousand miniature skyphoi and kotylai, iron and bronze knives, swords and spear points, and a bronze goat.

Cover-tiles in the building were angular Corinthian types. Traces of eaves-tiles of unequal height ran along the length of the eaves of the roof. Antefixes had flat, smooth faces that rose to three peaks. Similar tiles have been found at Mases, Nemea, and the Heraion.

Comments. The extraordinary proportions of the older building (1:6) may in fact have been less extreme if a peripteron of columns ran around the building at floor level; the proportions might be reduced to 1:4, which could still have a decidedly archaic character. Finds from the floor level show that it was used as early as the second quarter of the seventh century and was probably destroyed by fire near the mid-fifth century. The unsuccessful Athenian attack in 460 or 459, which may also have been the cause of a notable destruction level on the akropolis, would suit the date of the finds. Thereafter the remains of the building were levelled, effectively sealing 13 cm of deposit, for a terrace in front of another building to the east (Jameson 1974c, 116).

Three functions, temple, treasury, and *hestiatorion*, were grouped under the same roof here. The first room, the *cella*, was where the cult image stood. It was distinct from the *hestiatorion* and the treasury, each entered through a separate door (Mazarakis-Ainian 1988, 118). The middle room (*hestiatorion*) may have served as a inner sanctum where oracular and purification rites were performed, as the bones and horns of animals testify. The third room was evidently a storage area, where over five thousand miniature wine cups were found.

Halieis: The Racecourse in the Harbour

Jameson 1973, 227, 1974c, 114-119; 1979, 263-264.

Bergquist 1990a, 23-37.

Location. In the harbour, to the south of the monumental altar, at a distance of about 12 m.

Excavation. American School excavations.

Features. The racetrack was about 16 m wide and 167.40 m long. Rectangular slabs of limestone, without foundation, show the characteristic pair of parallel grooves for the feet

of the runner, separated by square cuttings for upright posts into six individual lanes. Two lines of wall ran along either side of the track, which apparently terminated in another starting line a stade (180 m) to the south.

The suggestion of practice tracks on the west side of the stadium has not been confirmed (Jameson 1979, 263-264).

The structure to the east may have served as foundation for wooden bleachers or for mounded earth for spectators. On the west side, the inner line of wall takes the form of a slightly curved recess, from 5.5 to 10 m from the north end, before resuming its straight course to the south. One may compare traces of a similar (and unexplained) curved construction on the south side of the track at Epidauros.

An isolated wall west of the racecourse, and the south end of the stadium, running directly towards the 'hostel or 'bath' complex, may have supported a channel for bringing water into the sanctuary, as would be normal for a site of athletic competitors (Jameson 1974c, 119).

Finds. The pottery seems to belong to fill used in the construction of the racecourse which, in its existing form, would be later than the middle or third quarter of the sixth century, but as yet we do not know how much later (Jameson 1973, 227; 1974c, 119). About one metre east of the curve, on the edge of the racetrack itself, excavation uncovered a bg Laconian stirrup krater, and other fragments of bg and bf pottery from the sixth century.

Comments. The racecourse is relatively narrow when compared with the fourth century courses at Olympia (20 lanes) and Epidauros (10 lanes).

Halieis may have been the site of an important festival, which included games.

Halieis: The Later Remains of the Sanctuary in the Harbour

Jameson 1973, 219-231; 1974c, 114-119; 1979, 263-264.

Bergquist 1990a, 23-37.

Cooper [N.] 1990.

Location. Submerged underwater, near of the temple of 'Apollo'.

Excavation. American School excavations.

Features. A very destroyed building (Temple 2) is located immediately to the east of the temple of Apollo. It is small, 28.26 m by 6.45 m, without preserved internal divisions. It too is oriented south. Extensive exploration of this building and others in the area shows that preceding the topmost foundations, classical in appearance, there had been

construction in technique and materials similar to that of the older building and which may have be attributed to the archaic period (Jameson 1979, 263). It lay higher on the slope than the previous building and has been robbed much more completely (Jameson 1979, 263).

Between the two temples is a drainage channel, the edge of which runs along the side of the Apollo temple, to catch the run-off from the two temples (Cooper [N.] 1990, 74).

A long submerged monumental altar, 3 m by 17.5 m, was placed between the front of the temple and the racecourse. It had two bases on either side near is north end, perhaps for a canopy or baldachin. Similar altars with bases are known at Perakhora and at the Aphaia temple on Aigina. Probably only a partial not a full canopy covered the altar. It is probably later than the Apollo temple.

Adjoining the altar house to the north is a rectangular room, roughly 7 m by 8 m, with a foundation for a central support, and beyond that, smaller compartments, just south of the well excavated in 1971. The excavators have suggested previously that these rooms formed part of a hostel or bath for use of visitors to the sanctuary and its games. More precise indications of their functions have not been forthcoming (Jameson 1979, 263).

A formal entranceway, a *propylon*, was also built, leading from the coastal road to the open space between the altar and the racecourse (below).

Finds. The finds of the second temple include drinking vessels and iron weapons. Eleven fragments of ridge-tiles, one pan-tile, and five fragments of an akroterion disk were found in a layer covering the foundations (Cooper [N.] 1990, 78-82).

Comments. In the original publications this building was regarded as a stoa, but in view of the architectural terracottas, the building was re-interpreted as a second temple dating from about 600 (Cooper [N.] 1990, 65). Bergquist (1990a, 36) believes that the finds from, and the length of, the building speak in favour of a *hestiatorion* (dining room), which was later given a secondary temple function. The fact that the building had an *akroterion*, however, is apparently proof that it was a temple (Cooper [N.] 1990, 82). Treasuries and possibly fountain houses are the only other buildings known to have been decorated with *akroteria*, and the foundations at Halieis are too large to belong to either of these. The archaic sanctuary thus included two temples, side by side, facing an altar. The buildings were in use simultaneously.

The visitor left the Hermione-Halieis road, along which as cuttings on the shore suggest, lay shops and houses, and entered the sanctuary just to the north starting line of the stadium, near the south end of the altar (Jameson 1979, 263).

Halieis: The Akropolis

Daux 1966a, 788-789.

Williams [C.] 1968, 195-196.

Jameson 1969, 319.

Boyd and Jameson 1981, 327-243.

Location. Approximately 50 m in elevation above the harbour. From here the city spreads fan-like in a northerly direction, extending down to the shore.

Excavation. American School excavations.

Features. Tests were made within the rectangular structure on the west side of the akropolis to determine the date of the building; it was probably built in the mid-fifth century. No earlier building appears to have occupied this area, although early material was found here (Williams [C.] 1968, pl. 140d).

A retaining and defence wall on the west side of the akropolis was dated by its fill to around 600. No buildings found within the limits of excavation appear to go with this wall.

The altar found north of the square and circular towers was perhaps archaic.

Finds. On the west side of the akropolis, north of the archaic wall, the excavators found an ashy layer full of pottery dating to the first half of the fifth century, including a *oinochoe* with Dionysos and satyr (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HP 288: Jameson 1969, pl. 80), Laconian wares (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HP 377-378, 380: Jameson 1969, pl. 80), and Corinthian imitations (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HP 416: Jameson 1969, pl. 80). Many of the later fifth century sherds had graffiti on them-- names of men, most likely soldiers of the Laconian garrison (see Chapter I for details).

Lead figurines and a terracotta face of about 500 are associated with a shrine, but were found in the fifth century building on the west side of the akropolis (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HC 165: Jameson 1969, 319 n19).

The votives and pottery associated with the altar area are of a sixth and early fifth century date, probably synchronous with the building of the defence system *berme*. The cult was characterised by a variety of miniature vessels, miniature bronze armour (shields, helmets, greaves), miniature bronze axes and mirrors, bronze and silver pins and earrings,

lead figurines of Spartan type, terracotta female, male, and animal figurines, and fragments of inscribed bronze (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HM 142, 365: Jameson 1969, 321, pl. 80). A fragment of an inscribed marble *perirrhanterion* may date from this period and thus shows continuation of the cult in the area (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HS 22, 33: Jameson 1969, 320, pl. 80).

Comments. The akropolis suffered destruction around 590-580 with much Laconian pottery in the debris. Votive objects attest the renewed use of the akropolis after about 580, although no fortifications have been associated with this period.

No buildings can be identified with the cult activity on top of the akropolis.

Halieis: The Lower Town

Jameson 1969, 320-321, 340; 1974c, 115; 1976c, 233-236.

Rudolph 1974, 105-131; 1977, 159-163; 1983, 68-72; 1984b, 72-74.

Aupert 1976, 614.

Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 334, 338.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 255.

Location. On the lower slopes of the akropolis.

Excavation. American School excavations, 1962, 1968-70, 1972-76. The excavations have concentrated on post-fifth century levels, though earlier levels going as far back as the seventh century have been explored on a smaller scale.

Features. It seems probable that a city wall existed on the east side of lower town, contemporary with the fortifications of mud-brick on the akropolis built in the late seventh century (Jameson 1974c, 115).

Halieis was laid out, at least in part, according to a system of orthogonal planning. Numerous streets and avenues have been located on the lower half of the city, and from these the location of several others can be proposed with fair degree of accuracy (Aupert 1976, 614, fig. 48). The plan seems to be divided into two zones of insulae; the fortification and the dictates of the terrain appear to have led to the decision to break continuity (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, pl. 87).

A number of remains of house foundations, particularly a sequence of walls and floors within House 5 (?), Street 3, Insula B-C in the north-east quarters of the town, prove clearly the existence of a habitation during the archaic and early classical period. The oldest level, Level C, showed traces of archaic and classical habitation, of which the walls were oriented like those of the earlier levels of habitation. This implies that the visible (fourth century) city plan overlay an earlier (archaic ?) one.

In the eastern half of the city, at least, a gap in occupation is indicated by a complete lack of finds assignable to the second half of the fifth century. There is a level, Level C, dating to the first half of the sixth century to about 460, that extends certainly throughout the east half of the lower town, possibly also throughout the western sector. Perhaps this corresponds to the city defences and the first organisation of a city plan (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 334, 338).

Finds. The stratum underneath level C contained mostly sherds of the seventh century, mixed with fragments of Argive and Laconian late geometric (Rudolph 1983, 68). A Near Eastern cylinder seal was found in level C, which dates to the archaic period.

Additional excavations around the central pillar of the Mint Building (formerly House Pi) in the north-east quarter of the town revealed a layer of sand and pebbles, found also in other parts of the building. This stratum, which extended downwards for some depth, covered a deposit of late archaic/early classical pottery, mixed with animal bones, Laconian and Corinthian roof-tiles, as well as with marine shells.

Comments. The assortment of finds indicates some sort of dump, possibly connected with the rites performed at this spot. The finds from the lower level (C) seem to indicate that the Mint area has a long history as a public, or sacred, place, deriving from earlier periods (Rudolph 1983, 68).

Within the city the orthogonally planned settlement of the sixth century indicates either a recovery after the attack on the akropolis early in the century and a carefully planned rebuilding of the lower town or colonisation by successful attackers.

Halieis: In the Vicinity

Jameson 1969, 340-341; 1974c, 118.

Touchais 1980, 605.

Location. On the south side of the road, on a small north-facing terrace of a hill immediately to the east of the akropolis hill.

Excavation. American School investigations.

Finds. Philadhelpheus found lamps and female pig-carrier figurines on the same terrace in 1909 (Jameson 1969, 340-341).

Comments. Surface finds point to the presence of a small sanctuary (to Demeter?).

The road to Hermione would have continued through a low valley to the north and into the plain of Flámboura, passing graves and other traces of classical structures. No excavation or clearing has been attempted yet.

Halieis: The Nekropolis East of Portokhéli

Daux 1960, 688.

Jameson 1969, 341.

Rudolph 1983, 72-73.

Dengate [C.] 1980, 274-324.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 425-426, no. A21.

Location. Along the modern and ancient road from Halieis to the Kósta area, about 3 km east of Portokhéli and about 30 m south of the Kósta road, on the plots of Kaloyeropoulou and Pikoula.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations, 1958; joint study and publication with the American School; American School excavations, 1973, 1975, and the southern Argolid survey.

Features. During the 1958 excavations, two areas were identified (Dengate 1980, 274ff.). The earliest burial found is Grave 1 in area 2, a sarcophagus that has been tentatively dated to the late sixth-early fifth century. Graves 2, 4-5, 14-15 seem to belong to the first half of the fifth century; the remainder are later. Grave Groups 1 and 3 can be dated to the second quarter of the fifth century. Most of these were simple cists covered with slabs of *poros* or sandstone.

The 1970s excavations at the west end of the ravine revealed twenty new graves dating mainly from the second half of the sixth to the first quarter of the fifth century (Rudolph 1983, 72-73). This series of graves included three or possibly four tumuli-like structures. The two rectangular tumuli would have been markers above the single grave each contained, while the larger one(s) could have been a family district. The other graves appear to be simple pits, and there is also one pithos.

Most of the graves identified during the survey were simple, rectangular cist of the classical period, but some may be archaic. The earliest burials, probably cremations in large *hydriai* and amphorae, date to the late seventh-early sixth century.

Finds. Grave 1 contained an early fifth century bf oinochoe with scenes of Athena and Hermes (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10245), a mid-fifth century bf olpe (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10244), a bf Droop cup of around 510 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10242), a palmette cup of about 500 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10239), three bg

cups of 480-500 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10241-3), a bg vicip of about 475 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10240), a skyphos with rays and heavy foot of the same date (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10327), and a bronze strigil (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HM 962).

Grave 2 had a mid-fifth century bg skyphos with two pairs of men and women facing each other (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10247), a bg skyphos with rays (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10248), a bronze swinging handle for a small wooden chest (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HM 966), and a worked bone fragment, perhaps a spindle-whorl (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HV 306).

The early fifth century finds from Graves 4-5 and 14-15 are include: a patterned skyphos of the first half of the fifth century and an iron strigil from Grave 4 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HP 1540 and HM 963); four bg skyphoi of about 470-460 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HP 1642, 1646, 1644, 1649) and an iron strigil blade (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HM 965) from Grave 14; and a rf column krater of about 475-450 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HP 1672), five bf cups of c. 480 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HP 1693, 1699-1700, 1727, 1703), and three bg skyphoi of around 470-460 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. NM 10262-4, 10266) from Grave 15.

In Grave Groups 1 and 3 the excavators found three bg skyphos dating to 470-460 (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HP 1804, 1823, 1826).

When the second series of graves was excavated at the western end of the ravine, Grave 1 contained a Laconian kylix by the Boreas Painter, dating into the first half of the sixth century. In most cases a number of vessels were placed in the grave on or beside the body. Grave 14 was a particularly rich burial of a woman, with a large, plain bronze mirror, a bronze pyxis, a pair of iron sandals, and eighteen vessels dating the burial to the first half of the fifth century.

The survey collected about 165 sherds of mostly fine bg and bf pottery ranging in date from the late seventh through to the mid-fourth century. Much of the pottery is Attic. A bronze mirror and a terracotta mirror case, a large female protome of terracotta, and a few fragmentary figurines should be mentioned.

Comments. The excavators noted extensive grave robbing. Weathering and road constructions have since destroyed the graves excavated in 1958.

The furnishings in the graves found in the 1970s are quite simple. In general the chronology of the nekropolis coincides with the findings from the city's north-east quarters, except that the archaic period is better represented in the cemetery.

The Indiana University excavations are being published by Rafn as a volume of the Halieis series.

Greek Name. Λουτρό

1:50000 map reference. 23° 09' 30" E and 37° 24' 15" N.

Location. A valley about 2 km north of Kranídhi and 4 km south-east of Koiládha.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey, 1972.

Function. Habitation site: farmstead.

Loutró: Άγιος Αντρέας

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 440, no. B9.

Greek Name. Άγιος Αντρέας

Location. On a slope of a low hill about 2 km north of Kranídhi in the area called Loutró.

Finds. Only four archaic sherds were found.

Comments. This is a farmstead or a small settlement.

Loutró: North-east of Village

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 447, no. B25.

Location. In fields approximately 1 km north-east of the Loutró well.

Finds. Several sherds were found, possibly as early as the late archaic period.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 440-441, no. B10.

Greek Name. Καστράκι

1:50000 map reference. 23° 10' E and 37° 24' 30" N.

Location. In the region of Kranídhī, on a steep conical hill with a narrow level summit 500 m north of Loutró.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. One archaic figurine and a few archaic sherds, including fine ware cups and kraters, were reported.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine ?

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 422, no. A5.

Greek Name. Σταυρός

1:50000 map reference. 23° 10' E and 37° 19' 30" N.

Location. In the region of Portokhéli, at the intersection of dirt roads (a place called Papastavraíika) between Portokhéli and Flámboura, probably along the ancient road (at 'cross-roads') from Halieis to Ermióni.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. The many conglomerate blocks *in situ* indicate a temple or shrine.

Finds. Large concentrations of pottery, principally bg cups and kraters, were found together with ten roof-tiles. A foot kylix bearing a graffito was dedicated to Zeus.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary.

Comments. This is a sanctuary of Zeus, to judge by the inscribed sherd.

Greek Name. Φλάμπουρο

1:50000 map reference. 23° 10' 30" E and 37° 19' 45" N.

Location. In the Kranídhi region, directly opposite the Portokhéli Bay, in a flat plain.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey, 1979-81.

Function. Habitation site: farmsteads.

Special-purpose site: shrines.

Flámboura: The Magoúla West of Áyioi Taxiárkhai

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 423, no. A9.

Greek Name. Άγ. Ταξιάρχαι

Location. On the western most summit and adjacent slopes of a low conglomerate hill with three peaks approximately 100 m west of Áyioi Taxiárkhai.

Finds. The survey team found sherds and a rectangular worked limestone block, in which was inserted a slab of lead for holding an object such as a sculptured stele (said to have been removed from here).

Comments. The predominant character of the site is that of a settlement, but the block suggests the presence of a shrine or sanctuary.

Flámboura: North of Village

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 452, no. B56.

Location. On a low rise adjacent to the modern wine-pressing tank, about 1 km from the bay of Kranídhi and 3 km north-east of Portokhéli.

Finds. Two figurines, a kalathos, a skyphos, and a miniature skyphos dated to the sixth-fifth centuries were recovered.

Comments. The finds suggest cult activity and the presence of an archaic shrine.

Flámboura: The Valley

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 454, no. B67.

Location. In the valley bottom, 1.6 km from Kranídhí Bay and 2.5 km north-east of Portokhéli.

Finds. Sherds, mostly bg cups, bowls, and oinochoai were found.

Comments. This is probably a farmstead.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 442, no. B16.

Greek Name. Κάστρο

1:50000 map reference. 23° 10' 30" E and 37° 24' 30" N.

Location. On a steep conical hill, 1.4 km north of the Profitis Ilías peak and about 0.5 km east of Kastráki, between Fournói and Kranídhi, in the region of Kranídhi.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Some archaic sherds, including cups, amphorae, jugs, and a few pyxides were reported.

Function. Habitation site: fortification.

Comments. This site has been identified as a refuge.

Ákra (Ai)milianós (Metókhi)

A-44

EF 1955a, 231-246.

Faraklas 1973, 10, figs. 13a-b, 15a-b, 16a-b.

Rudolph 1974, 105-131.

Foley 1988, 171.

Greek Name. Άκρ. Αιμιλιανός (Μετόχι)

1:50000 map reference. 23° 12' E and 37° 17' 45" N.

Location. On the coast at the south end of the eastern peninsula opposite Spétses and approximately 2 km to the east of Kósta, some 3.5 km to the south-west of Portokhéli and 11 km to the south of Ermióni.

Excavation. Unexcavated.

Features. Faraklas and the French School excavators reported an archaic sanctuary nearby the settlement.

Finds. No archaic finds were reported from the settlement itself.

Function. Habitation site: farmstead or fortification ?

Comments. It is perhaps more likely that this site is a military outpost or farmstead.

B.iii.b. The Southern Argolid: The Region of Hermione

Nomós Argolídhos: Eparkhía Ermionídhos

The Southern Argolid covers the regions of Hermione and Halieis. It can further be divided into three parallel zones: first, the upland country, south of the rugged border range, in which are set two small plateaux at Dhídhyma on the west and Iliókastro on the east; second, a central zone of east-west valleys from the Fránkhthi headland in the west to Cape Mouzaki on the east; and third, the southernmost part, consisting of gentle hills, many small valleys, and the island of Spetses (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 29).

Much of the Flámboura plain and the western end of the peninsula are assigned to Halieis rather than to Hermione (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 18 n.c). The territory of Halieis includes the commune of Portokhéli and half of that of Kranídhi, together with the island of Spetses (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 18 n.c). To Hermione belongs the rest of the modern Eparkhía Ermionídhos (except for an area east of Thermisí, which belonged to Troizenia in antiquity).

Didymoi Cave (Dhídhyma)

A-45

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 477, no. D3.

Greek Name. Δίδυμα

1:50000 map reference. 23° 09' 45" E and 37° 28' 30" N.

Location. Within a large, cavernous sinkhole at a place called Megáli Spiliá (Μεγάλη Σπηλιά), 1 km north-west of the village of Dhídhyma.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Only archaic sherds were found in the survey.

Function. Habitation site: field building.

Comments. The site is an animal fold.

Greek Name. Φούρνοι

1:50000 map reference. 23° 10' 30" E and 37° 25' 45" N.

Location. A long tract of land to the east to west of Foúrnoi village.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey, 1972 and 1979-81.

Function. Habitation site: village.

Foúrnoi: South of Public School in the Village

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 506, no. F1.

Location. In the village of Foúrnoi, in a flat area south of the public school house.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey, 1972 and 1979-81.

Finds. Surface sherds were reported.

Comments. This is a settlement.

Foúrnoi: The Well

Dheïlaki 1977, 87.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 255, 512, no. F27.

Location. Discovered during the construction of a house in the Foúrnoi village.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía rescue excavations and American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. Here is one of the few wells discovered in the southern Argolid.

Finds. Small quantities of pottery were found, together with animal bones, loom-weights, pieces of iron, a bronze handle, several coins, and two figurines. A number of ceramic objects show signs of burning.

Comments. The material in this well is votive in nature. It probably comes from a shrine or temple nearby.

Fóurnoi: West, North-west of the Village

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 518, no. F58.

Location. In a level orchard on the north bank of a seasonal streambed about 1.3 km west, north-west of Fóurnoi.

Finds. Possibly five archaic sherds were found.

Comments. This site may be a farmstead.

Fóurnoi: Profitis Ilías

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 509, no. F5.

Location. On terraced fields on the north slope of a prominent hillock on the south edge of Fóurnoi village.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey, 1972 and 1979-81.

Finds. Some sherds were found.

Comments. This is a small village.

Petrothálassa or Thalassópetra

A-47

Faraklas 1973, 9, figs. 9a-b, 13a to 16b.

Foley 1988, 196.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 484, no. E7.

Greek Name. Πετροθάλασσα

1:50000 map reference. 23° 12' E and 37° 20' 30" N.

Location. In the south part of the Hermionis region, on the summit of a small hill with conglomerate outcropping, almost midway between Ermióni (about 6 km south) and Portokhéli (5.5 km north-east), and only 800 m from the sea beside the line of ancient Halieis-Hermione road.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. Walls described as a double line of fortification were noted on the south slope. Clear traces of ancient quarrying are visible in the bedrock here.

Finds. Sherds of the late sixth to fourth century, including many bg fine wares, domestic coarse wares, amphorae, large basins, and pithoi were found.

Function. Habitation site: village.

Comments. Two archaic villages are situated very close to one another, one also being a natural harbour. The latter site was destroyed in 1981 by bulldozing in order to build summer homes.

The site may have belonged to Halieis, though it more likely belonged to Hermione.

Remains of an orthogonally planned site of classical date (unexcavated, so could therefore be archaic as at Halieis) are visible here.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 531-532, no. E15, 602-605.

Greek Name. Καταφίκι

1:50000 map reference. 23° 13' E and 37° 25' 15" N.

Location. On a high limestone cliff-face on the west side of the Katafíki Gorge at its midpoint with good views of Ermióni in one direction and to the Fournoi end of the gorge in the other, approximately 4.7 km north-west of Ermióni.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. One archaic sherd was found, together with a boundary marker inscribed *ορος*.

Function. Special-purpose site: inscription.

Comments. The inscription dates to sometime within the sixth-fourth centuries. It once marked the boundary between the territories of Ermióni and Philanoréia (Fournoi) in the classical period. Originally it could only have been to delimit grazing areas, and indication of the importance of herding in late archaic times or classical times. It points to a long history of pastoralism and of assertion of territorial rights.

Mt. Kokkýgion (Profitis Ilías)

A-49

Faraklas 1973, 9, figs. 14a-b, 15a-b, 16a-b.

Langdon 1976, 108.

Zimmermann Munn 1985.

Foley 1988, 184.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 490-491, no. E33.

Greek Name. Κοκκύγιον (Προφήτης Ηλίας)

1:50000 map reference. 23° 13' 30" E and 37° 23' 15" N.

Location. About 2 km west of modern Ermióni, on the west peak of Mt. Profitis Ilías, approximately 20 m south-west of the summit of Mt. Kokkýgion, 'Cuckoo mountain'.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. Faraklas reported two sites, both of which are sanctuaries. Site A was identified as a sanctuary from archaic to roman times, though questionable in the archaic and classical period. The other, site B, is a roughly rectangular building formed by walls made of a double row, c. 0.85 m wide, of unworked limestone blocks and slabs, some over 1.5 m long and set upright as orthostats. The north wall is 33 m long, with a wall of about 14 m on the east and over 4 m on the west. On the south the fourth wall is formed by a nearly sheer drop. A layer of ash was visible at several points in the enclosure; it is almost certainly remains of an ash altar.

Finds. The majority of archaic sherds were open shapes (kotylai, small cups, and bowls). One tile was collected.

Function. Special-purpose site: shrine.

Comments. This second enclosure (B) is apparently the shrine of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias (2.36.2) (Foley 1988, 184).

Greek Name. Ερμίονη

1:50000 map reference. 23° 15' E and 37° 23' N.

Location. Near the modern village of the same name (Ermióni), on the peninsula, 1.20 km long, and across the bay on the slopes of the Prôn.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía and American School investigations, and American School, southern Argolid intensive survey, 1978-81.

Function. Habitation site: town.

Comments. Ermióni is the least known archaeologically of the Akte's towns. There have been no full publications of its excavations.

Hermione: The Temple on the Bítsi Promontory

Philadhelpheus 1910, 177-179.

Frickenhau and Müller [W.] 1911, 37.

Jameson 1959, 109-120.

McAllister 1969, 169-185.

Foley 1988, 181.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 488-489, no. E19, 589-590.

Location. On the pine-covered, rocky peninsula known as the Bítsi (meaning 'tail' in Albanian) in the saddle between the two high points of the eastern part of the peninsula.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía and American School investigations.

In 1909 Philadhelpheus cleared the foundation of a late archaic temple and deposited the few architectural remains that he found in the church of Áyios Nikólaos. All of these have now disappeared, but McAllister has published a brief study of the remains in situ in 1969.

Features. The foundations of the temple measure 16.25 m by 32.98 m and are of local grey limestone in large, well-fitted, polygonal blocks (McAllister 1969, fig. 2). The temple plan was probably hexastyle with twelve columns on a side and a platform with two steps. The *cella* had both *pronaos* and *opisthodomos* and probably a double row of seven columns, or pair of superimposed columns, in the interior.

There must have been at least two courses above those that are now preserved, because the blocks carried on the specifically levelled bed would not be wide enough for the stylobate. If there were two steps in the manner of the Delphi model, the resulting proportions are remarkably close to those of Aigina. The suggested column spacing

follow the archaic scheme with wider intervals on the front than on the sides, contracted at the corners. The corner columns may have been enlarged. There was no ramp for the temple, or are there any signs of an altar.

Finds. Philadhelpheus found a few architectural remains, together with two column drums that were built into the north circuit wall of the Bítsi.

Comments. McAllister dates the building to the end of the sixth century and believes that it was dedicated to Poseidon or, less likely, to Athena (Paus. 2.34.11). The money received by Ermióni from the Samian exiles for the purchase of the island of Hydrea (modern Ýdhra) may have been used to pay for its construction (Hdt. 3.58-59). At some point the temple was completely destroyed, and when a church was built, only its foundations were worth using.

Hermione: The Prôn (stoús Miloús) Hill

Philadhelpheus 1910, 177-179.

Frickenhaus and Müller [W.] 1911, 21-38.

Scranton 1941, 72.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 254, 488-489, no. E19, 592-593.

Spathari-Papadimitriou 1996, 104-105.

Location. At the church of Áyios Taxiárkhis (the Archangel Michael), on the lower slopes of the hill Pausanias referred to as the Prôn.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavation and American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. Philadhelpheus excavated graves (chiefly classical and hellenistic) on the north slope of the Prôn, along the motor road leading to Kranídhí. A stretch of wall on the slopes of the Prôn outside the fortifications, together with other remains, is to be associated with the famous sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia (Frickenhaus and Müller [W.] 1911; Scranton 1941, 72).

Finds. A series of inscribed dedications of bronze cows were presented to this goddess (*IG* IV 683-684; *SEG* 11.378-379; Roehl 1907, 29 no. 2; Loewy 1885, 36, 43-44, nos. 45, 51; Roberts 1887, no. 287; Michel 1900, 823 no. 1066; Philadelpheus 1910, 174; Peek 1934, 45ff. no. 8a-b; Jameson 1953, 149ff. no. 2, pl. 50; Marcadé 1953, nos. 31, 63, pls. 7.1, 11.4; Hammond 1960, 33-36; Wörrle 1964, 61ff.; Guarducci 1967, 366-367, no. 5, fig. 193; Lazzarini 1976, 189-190 nos. 74-75; Jeffery 1990, 178-179, 182 nos. 8-9, pl. 33). Although these were not found on the Prôn, they must come from this precinct.

The remains of the cemetery included terracotta figurines, but the material was mostly classical through late roman in date.

Comments. There was a sanctuary of Demeter here (Paus. 2.34.6-12), whose reputation was already established in the sixth century.

A huge cemetery from geometric to roman times is located in this area, but excavations are required before anything can be known about the individual plots.

Hermione: The Hilltop West of Kinéta

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 492, no. E36.

Location. On the slopes of a hill and in the surrounding citrus orchards west of Kinéta (on the south shore of Potókia Bay), about 2.7 km south-west of Ermióni.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Some thirty archaic sherds were found, including bg kraters and bowls, and a few coarse wares.

Comments. This is a large village.

Hermione: On a Hill North-west of the Village

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 495, no. E47.

Location. In a field on a slight rise about 4.25 km north-west of Ermióni.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Finds include bg sherds and a variety of domestic coarse wares.

Comments. The place is a settlement.

Hermione: In the Kámbos

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 498, no. E55.

Location. In an olive grove in the Ermióni kámbos about 1.4 km north-west of the town.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Only a few archaic sherds were recovered.

Comments. This is probably a habitation place or a storage building.

Hermione: On a Stream Bank North-west of the Village

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 499, no. E61.

Location. On two terraces on the west bank of a seasonal streambed about 3.4 km north-west of Ermióni.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Only three archaic sherds were identified.

Comments. This is a farmstead.

Hermione: On a Hilltop North-west of the Village

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 501, no. E71.

Location. In a field on a hilltop about 4.2 km north-west of Ermióni.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Some bg kraters, plain jugs, and large basins were found.

Comments. This site is a farmstead.

Hermione: Pikrodháfni

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 493, no. E40.

Location. On low rise in fields about 3.75 km west, south-west of Ermióni.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Some twenty sherds have been reported, with a variety of bg cups, bowls, kraters, amphorae, and coarse jugs.

Comments. This is a farmstead.

Eileoi (Iliókastro)

A-51

Frickenhaus and Müller [W.] 1911, 35 ff.
Leekley and Noyes 1976, 61.

Greek Name. Ηλιόκαστρον

1:50000 map reference. 23° 16' E and 37° 26' 30" N.

Location. On a plateau in the vicinity (400 m north) of the modern village of the same name, about 9 km north-east of Hermione.

The name Iliókastro or Karakási is a modern coinage, but the ancient Eileoi, mentioned by Pausanias (2.34.6), survived as Ilía and in modern times as Stá Ilía. There are two major sites about 4 km apart: Magoúla stá Ilía and Palaiókastro, which is classical.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey, 1981.

Function. Habitation site: village.

Comments. Pausanias (2.34.6) mentions that there was a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore here.

Eileoi (Palaiókastro): The Ancient Village ?

Welter 1941.
Faraklas 1973, 10.
Osborne 1987, 62.
Foley 1988, 178.
Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 519-520, no. G2.

Location. Around a small limestone peak overlooking a deep valley in the eastern peninsula, about 2.5 km west of modern Iliókastro and about 9 km north-east of Ermióni.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. There may have been a settlement here in archaic times, though the visible remains date to the classical period.

Finds. At least one archaic sherd was found.

Comments. The name Eileoi may derive from a kind of vine once grown on the plateau, unless of course the vine was named from the place (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 31).

The site has considerable natural advantages.

Eileoi: North-east of Iliócastro

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 524, no G.13.

Location. In terraced fields on a low ridge about 1.3 km north-east of Iliócastro village.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Sherds and tiles were found.

Comments. This is a farmstead.

Eileoi: North-west of Iliócastro

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 525, no. G22.

Location. Near a modern farmhouse on a small rise 1 km north-west of Iliócastro village.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Several sherds, mainly cups, bowls, and domestic wares, together with roof-tiles were recovered from the area.

Comments. This is a farmstead.

Eileoi: West of Iliócastro

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 525, no. G23.

Location. In terraced fields on the south slope of a low hill about 650 m west of Iliócastro.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. About eight sherds of the late sixth-early fifth centuries were recovered.

Comments. This is a farmstead.

Eileoi: South of Iliócastro at Magoúla stá Ilía

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 519, nos. G1.

Location. On an artificial mound, currently terraced for olives and cereal, located at the south edge of the plateau about 1.5 km south of Iliócastro village.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. There may have been a settlement and a shrine here. Worked blocks of andesite and *poros* limestone probably come from a temple or a shrine at the south-east edge of the site.

Finds. Many sherds were found. A worked stone block may be interpreted as an offering table. Two column drums were found near this object. Two limestone blocks may be corners of a monument. A local informant reported that a headless *kouros* was found at this place.

Comments. This is probably a sanctuary deposit, where some sort of cult activity took place.

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 480, no. E3.

Greek Name. Θερμησία (Κάστρον)

1:50000 map reference. 23° 18' 15" E and 37° 25' 15" N.

Location. On a high limestone crag, together with terraced fields immediately to its north, about 2 km north-west of Thermisí(a) village and 1.5 km from the Thermisí saltpans.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. At least sixteen sherds date to the seventh-fifth centuries, most of them being bg fine wares.

Function. Habitation site: village ?

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 522, no. G11.

Greek Name. Κουφό

1:50000 map reference. Cannot locate on the map, but about 23° 19' 30" E.

Location. On the south and west sides of a limestone outcrop high on the Adhères mountain ridge, approximately 1.5 km north-east of Sóros.

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Features. The site consists of the rubble foundations of three of more rectangular structures clustered to the south and west sides of the outcrop.

Finds. Many seventh-fifth century bg sherds, including skyphoi, a krater, an amphora, domestic wares with many jugs, a miniature oinochoe, a large basin, a pithos, and a Corinthian A amphora.

Function. Habitation site: village ?

B.vi.a. The Region of Troizenia: The Mainland

Nomós Attikís: Eparkhía Troizinías

The Troizenia, even including the peninsula of Méthana, the islands of Póros (ancient Kalaureia) and, in antiquity, Ýdhra (ancient Hydrea), was not much larger than the Southern Argolid (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 25). Its coastal plain is agriculturally the richest part of the Akte, with a relatively dense population (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 25). With much less good land, the peninsula of Méthana and the island of Póros had periods of independence from Troizen in antiquity (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 25).

Faraklas 1973, figs. 12a to 16b.

Foley 1988, 193.

Greek Name. Φούσια

1:50000 map reference. 23° 12' 30" E and 37° 34' 15" N.

Location. In the region of Epidauria, less than 2 km south-west of Áno Fanári, near Áyios Yeoryíos, in a valley area.

Excavation. Surface survey, Faraklas.

Finds. Various sherds from geometric to roman times were found.

Function. Habitation site: village ?

Comments. Faraklas believes this site to be an unfortified settlement.

Welter 1941, 38-39, T.1.

Faraklas 1972, 15, figs. 15a to 18b.

Foley 1988, 195.

Greek Name. Ψήφτα

1:50000 map reference. 23° 20' E and 37° 32' N.

Location. In the north Troizenia a little over 4 km south-west of the Isthmos of Méthana, near the coast.

Excavation. Surface survey, Faraklas.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary

Comments. An archaic sanctuary (of Artemis Saronias) is suggested by the presence of surface finds. No signs of previous occupation are visible here.

Troizen (Troízina or Dhamalás)

A-56

Faraklas 1972, 14.

Foley 1988, 198.

Greek Name. Τροιζήν

1:50000 map reference. 23° 21' E and 37° 30' 30" N.

Location. West of Troízina and Galatás, lying below the slopes of Mt. Adhéres, the ancient Phorbantion.

Excavation. French School and German Institute investigations, French School and Greek Eforeía excavations.

The French School exposed the remains in 1890 and 1899, and the German Institute re-examined them in 1932. Recently the Greek archaeologists uncovered graves in the area.

Function. Habitation site: town.

Comments. The site is also known as ancient Troizin, modern Troízina, and formerly Dhamalás.

There is a settlement and sanctuary of Hippolytos near the Asklepieíon, a temple of Demeter Thesmophoros on the slopes beyond the city walls, near the temple of Poseidon, and archaic graves halfway between the *agora* and the Asklepieío (Welter 1941, 39-40).

Troizen: Palaiá Episkopí

Welter 1941, 34.

Musti and Torelli 1986, 320-322.

Billot 1992, 71.

Location. In the area of the bishop's palace or church, near the Asklepieío, where the remains of the temple of Hippolytos can be seen to the north (Paus. 2.30.6).

Excavation. French School excavations ?

Features. The temple is peripteral and has 11 by 6 columns. Only the foundations can be seen today.

Comments. Hippolytos was probably worshipped here. There was also a settlement associated with the sanctuary.

It is said that the tomb of Hippolytos was here.

Troizen: The Agora

Legrand 1893, 93; 1905, 281-282.

Welter 1941, 18.

Location. East of the church of Epískopi.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Comments. Perhaps Apollo Thearios, Artemis Sotiera, and Zeus Soter were worshipped here. The temple of Apollo was considered by Pausanias (2.31.9) to be older than the temple of Apollo in Samos.

Troizen: The Temple of Aphrodite (?) on the Slopes of the Akropolis

Legrand 1905, 271-274.

Welter 1941, 19-20.

Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 182-183.

Location. On the slopes of the akropolis.

Excavation. French School excavations, 1899.

Features. Legrand discovered a temple with pronaos, cella, and statue base at the turn of the century. He identified it with Pan (Paus. 2.32.6), but Welter believes it to have belonged to Aphrodite.

Comments. The locality of this temple on the slopes towards the akropolis may have contributed to its epithet, Aphrodite Akraia.

Troizen: Near the Temple of Aphrodite

Legrand 1905, 271-274.

Le Roy 1967, 35.

Welter 1941, 20.

Billot 1990, 122.

Location. A little to the south of the temple of Aphrodite (Paus. 2.32.5) near a ruined chapel, almost at the point where the path from the Dhamalás to the Kástro crosses the traces of walls.

Excavation. French School excavations, 1899.

Finds. A fragment of triglyph and 'larmier' in tuff with traces of stucco and paint on them were found in 1890 (Legrand 1905, 269, fig. 2). More fragments of architectural terracottas were discovered in a large (storage ?) jar on a terrace on the slope of the akropolis. Part of a lion-head spout was incised with motifs in brown and reddish brown.

Comments. Some of these fragments may come from the neighbouring sanctuary of Aphrodite, though they could also have come from above the hill.

Troizen: Loris Plot

Legrand 1905, 280.

Location. Close to St. George, towards the north-west.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Finds. In a garden near the south-east corner of a large temple was found part of a small archaic head.

In the field east of the temple in the direction of St. George they excavated a well with debris of terracotta decoration and a small cornice fragment in tuff with traces of paint.

Troizen: Near Dhamalá (Modern Troízina)

Legrand 1905, 310-313.

Welter 1941, pl. 9.

Location. On the slopes that dominate the road that goes towards the lower mill and Manetas house.

Excavation. French School, surface exploration.

Finds. Many terracotta and some metal objects were found almost at surface level in the area between the highest houses of the village and the highest level of the road. Two complete female figurines and parts of some twenty other figurines were also recovered in the area (Legrand 1905, figs. 19-28).

Comments. These objects must have come from a sanctuary above, and the small terrace on the slope is a likely location for such a building.

Troizen: West of Village

Legrand 1905, 302-303.

Welter 1941, 20-25.

Location. On the slopes that overlook a path leading to the lower hill, beyond the city walls, but much closer to the city than the sanctuary of Aphrodite.

Excavation. French School excavations.

Finds. A votive deposit, including many figurines, hundreds of lamps, spools, and spindles was found on a terrace above the temple area.

Comments. No architectural remains were found here, but Welter believes that the building materials for the temple were used for later houses. The temple was identified as that of Demeter Thesmophoros (Welter 1941, 21).

Troizen: Unknown Findspot

Pariente 1990, 732.

Konsolaki 1989a, 49-51; 1989b, 63-64.

Location. Unknown.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía excavations.

Finds. Fragments of a column with two archaic inscriptions were found together with another inscribed block fragment.

An archaic grave marker was reused to seal a hellenistic cistern. It was inscribed on the reverse, along the edges, as a prize (a tripod cauldron) that Damotinos won in Thebai (Welter 1941, 39)

Pogon (Vídhi)

A-57

Faraklas 1972, figs. 15a to 18b.
Foley 1988, 193.

Greek Name. Βύδιον

1:50000 map reference. 23° 23' E and 37° 31' N.

Location. On the coast of the eastern Argolid at the west end of the Pogonós Lake, 3 km north-east of Troizen, near the modern village of Vídhi.

Excavation. Unexcavated.

Function. Habitation site: village.

Comments. This was an unfortified settlement and harbour from the archaic to the roman period but has not been excavated.

The Greek fleet that fought the Battle of Salamis in 480 mustered in this harbour, called 'The Beard', and the Athenians sent women and children to safety there during the Persian war of that year (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 26).

Eïones ? (Sambríza Magoúla or Pigádhia) A- 58

Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 484, no. E9.

Greek Name. Πηγάδια

1:50000 map reference. 23° 23' 30" E and 37° 25 N.

Location. About 4 km east of Thermisí village on a low rounded hill, about 500 m from the sea, a little west of the Koumbourlá saltpans.

Though this area is in the modern Eparkhía Ermionídhos, the site needs to be detached from this modern commune and given to Troizenia (Eparkhía Troizinías), because most of the land here would have been Troizenian in antiquity (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 18 n.b)

Excavation. American School, southern Argolid intensive survey.

Finds. Some archaic sherds were collected.

Function. Habitation site: village

Comments. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel (1994, 59 n.1) suggest that this site is ancient Eïones (Iliad 2.559-578).

Faraklas 1972, 14, figs. 15a to 18b.
Foley 1988, 180.

Greek Name. Γαλατάς

1:50000 map reference. 23° 27' E and 37° 29' 30" N.

Location. About 400 m south-west of modern Galatás, across from the island of Póros.

Excavation. Surface survey, Faraklas.

Features. Surface finds show the probable existence of a sanctuary in the archaic period.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary ?

Faraklas 1972, 15, figs. 15a to 18b.
Foley 1988, 185.

Greek Name. Λαζαρέττο ?

1:50000 map reference. 23° 28' E and 37° 29' 30" N.

Location. In the eastern peninsula on the coast opposite the island of Póros, and about 700 m south-east of modern Galatás.

Excavation. Surface survey, Faraklas.

Features. Possibly there was a sanctuary of Athena Apatousia here in the archaic period, but the dates of occupation are uncertain.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary ?

**B.vi.b. The Region Of Troizenia: The Methana
Peninsula**

Nomós Attikís: Eparkhía Troizinías

Catling 1985, 22; 1987, 19.
Touchais 1987, 531.
Foley 1988, 187.
Mee and Forbes [H.] 1977, 143.

Greek Name. Άγιος Νικόλαος

1:50000 map reference. 23° 20' 30" E and 37° 38' N.

Location. On the north coast of Méthana, on the akropolis west of modern Άγιος Νικόλαος, on conical hill with terraced slopes.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Finds. The survey team reports an excellent range late sixth century pottery. There is a mix of fine wares, mostly matt-painted and decorated with linear patterns. The latest archaic pottery is represented by an Attic bf skyphos (c. 490-475), a bf sherd (c. 500-475) and an Attic bg cup (c. 500-475) (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 143).

Function. Habitation site: village ?

Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 161.

Greek name. Καημένη Χώρα

1:50000 map reference. 23° 21' E and 37° 37' N.

Location. East of Kaiméni Khóra, the island volcano.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Finds. Only one linear decorated sherd from the archaic period was found (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 161).

Function. Habitation site: farmstead ?

Methana (Megalokhório-Palaiokástro)

A-63

Foley 1988, 188.

Catling 1988, 23.

Konsolaki 1989b, 63-64.

Pariente 1990, 732.

Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 123, 141.

Greek name. Μεγαλοχώριον

1:50000 map reference. 23° 21' 30" E and 37° 35' N.

Location. On a low but prominent akropolis (of ancient Methana) on the west coast of the Méthana peninsula, about 1 km south-west of modern Megalokhório.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Features. Substantial fortification walls run along the north and west sides of the akropolis. The masonry is of two styles, dating to the classical and hellenistic periods.

Finds. The archaic pottery includes numerous sherds from both open and closed shapes: kraters (one column), an amphora, a hydria, and smaller vessels such as cups, dishes, bowls, and well as miniature Corinthian skyphoi (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 126).

An archaic cup handle, two bg sherds, and the rim of a stemmed dish were found nearby, south-east of the akropolis (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 141).

Function. Habitation site: town.

Special purpose: shrine ?

Comments. The place (MS 10) was probably settled from the geometric period, judging from its impressive range of archaic to late hellenistic pottery.

The distribution of archaic sherds south-east of the akropolis suggests that the settlement had expanded and was not simply confined to the akropolis. This area (MS 56) might represent the eastern limits of ancient Méthana (Paus. 2.34.1)

Catling 1985, 22, 28.

Touchais 1985, 780.

Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 68, 136.

Greek name. Κουνουπίτσα

1:50000 map reference. 23° 22' 30" E and 37° 38' N.

Location. East of and in a ravine above Kounoupítsa, on the north part of the Méthana peninsula, between Óga and Magoúla.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Features. Here is located a small temple, with a terrace wall in Lesbian masonry (late sixth-late fifth centuries). The only architectural clue to the date of the temple is the terrace wall. It is clear that this wall was built at the same time as the temple.

Other walls suggest a platform 13.9 m by 8.2 m for a temple aligned north-south, with its south wall built close to the terrace wall. There are also four columns of volcanic stone, unfluted and fairly roughly shaped; it is possible that these are not part of the temple.

Finds. The earliest sherd belongs to a bg Attic krater of the fifth century; all the other closely datable sherds are fourth century (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 136).

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary.

Comments. The sanctuary is not located near a centre of habitation and is roughly midway between the settlement at Óga and Magoúla. It is conceivable that it acted as an extra-urban sanctuary for one of these settlements and marked the boundary between the two. The north-south alignment of the temple is clearly determined by the topography, but it is possible that the choice of site was made to allow for the construction of a temple facing out towards the Saronikos gulf and Salamis.

Due to the nature of its recent destruction (bulldozed) much of the sherd material has been lost and a few finds confirm a date only for the fifth century, although the architecture might suggest establishment in the archaic period. No votives have been found and the name of the deity is unknown (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 68).

Deffner 1909, 341-355.
Catling 1988, 23.
Konsolaki 1989b, 63-64.
Pariente 1990, 723.
Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 59, 174, 269.

Greek name. Θροvní

1:50000 map reference. 23° 23' E and 37° 35' N.

Location. On the edge of the plain of Throní, west of modern Méthana town, south-west of Vromolímní.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Features. Cut blocks were found here.

Finds. At least thirty-seven fragments of votive skyphoi were found at the edge of Throní plain.

On the plain itself was a rough block of trachyte, 0.78 m long, 0.45 m wide, and 0.45 m thick (Deffner 1909, 354-55; Premierstein 1909, 356-362; Jeffery 1990, 175-176, 181, 406; Foley 1988, 129, 274). It was inscribed in a form of boustrophedon, and may have been laid flat across the grave rather than serving as a stele. It was dedicated by Eumares for his son Androkles, and seems to date from the sixth century (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 59).

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary?

Comments. This is perhaps the site of a temple. It is described as having an archaic votive deposit with a classical (early fifth century) farmstead nearby (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 174).

Since the archaic sherds seem to have been accompanied by some slag, it does not seem that this is a funerary deposit (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 59).

Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 127.

Greek name. Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος

1:50000 map reference. 23° 24' E and 37° 35' 30" N.

Location. North-east of Loutra, on a rocky knoll that is covered in garrigue.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Function. Habitation site: farmstead ?

Finds. Only one rim sherd from a bg cup was archaic in date.

Comments. The site is quite small, about 4800 m², and without features.

Faraklas 1972, 15, figs. 16a to 18b.

Catling 1985, 22.

Foley 1988, 180.

Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 130, 147.

Greek name. Κυψέλι

1:50000 map reference. 23° 24' 30" E and 37° 37' N.

Location. On the east coast of Méthana, north-west of Óga.

The Goúri-Gljáti ridge, north-east of Kypséli, consists of a rock outcrop, narrow uncultivated terraces, and one possibly classical or hellenistic tower.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Finds. A glazed sherd of the archaic period was found here.

Function. Habitation site: farmstead ?

Comments. Surface material indicates a probable settlement whose periods of occupation are uncertain.

Greek name. Κυψέλι

1:50000 map reference. 23° 24' 30" E and 37° 37' N.

Location. The main akropolis settlement on the east coast of Méthana, in the plain of Cape Míkros Kavalláris.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Function. Habitation site: town.

Óga (MS 67)

Catling 1985, 22; 1987, 19; 1988, 23.

Touchais 1985, 780.

Foley 1988, 191.

Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 146.

Location. North-east of Kypséli, on a low but prominent hill.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Features. On the summit of the akropolis there is a square tower dating to about 400, together with the foundations of other structures. These were apparently pulled up to facilitate cultivation, but not the tower since it had been built on bedrock. Scattered around the akropolis are probably classical column drums and cut blocks, an altar, a millstone, a press weight and rock-cut inscriptions, preserved *in situ* (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 146).

Finds. A large number of unpainted and decorated sherds from both closed and open vessels date to the archaic period (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 147). There is a wide range of shapes which include kraters (some column, one from Laconia), amphorae, lekanai, a jug, cups, skyphoi, Corinthian aryballoi, a Corinthian pyxis lid, bowls, Corinthian miniature skyphoi, and other votives, as well as cooking pots (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 147-148).

Comments. The architectural fragments hint at the presence of a sanctuary.

Above Óga (MS 68)

Catling 1985, 22.

Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 148.

Location. West of Míkros Kavalláris and north-east of Kypséli.

Excavation. British School, Methana Survey.

Finds. Plenty of archaic sherds with as many as one hundred and eighty-eight fragments of miniature skyphoi, mostly Corinthian in fabric, and matt-painted sherds, along with two archaic/classical lamps have been recovered on these terraces (Mee and Forbes [H.] 1997, 148).

Comments. Although there are no architectural remains above Óga, the votives collected here indicate a sanctuary.

Bone fragments and reports of tombs suggest that there might also be a settlement and cemetery above Óga.

B.vi.c. The Region of Troizenia: The Island of Hydrea

Nomós Attikís: Eparkhía Troizinías

The island of Ýdhra (ancient Hydrea) is long and mountainous with little arable land (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 28). In antiquity it belonged to Hermione in the archaic period, but was sold to a group of exiles from the island of Samos around 524 (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 28). Eventually, they entrusted the island to Troizen and they settled in Krete (Hdt. 3.59.1-3). It seems that Hydrea remained in the hands of Troizen thereafter (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 28).

Khoriza (Ýdhra)

A-69

Jameson 1959, 117.

Foley 1988, 177.

Greek name. Επισκοπή

1:50000 map reference. 23° 25' 30" E and 37° 18' 30" N.

Location. On the island of Ýdhra, about 2 km west of the modern town of Ýdhra, near a place called Episkopí.

Excavation. Unexcavated.

Finds. Some archaic sherds were found on the hillside above the lower wall.

Function. Habitation site: farmstead ?

B.vi.d. The Region of Troizenia: The Island of Poros

Nomós Attikís: Eparkhía Troizinías

Kalaureia (Póros)

A-70

Kelly 1966, 113-121.
Bergquist 1967, 35.
Coldstream 1968, 405.
Billot 1992, 62-65.
Hall [J.] 1995a, 584-585.

Greek name. Καλαύρια (Πόρος)

1:50000 map reference. 23° 28' 30" E and 37° 31' 30" N.

Location. On the island of Póros, ancient Kalaureia, across the mainland at Galatás.

The temple of Poseidon is located fairly centrally on the island.

Excavation. Swedish archaeologists, 1894; 1938 topographical work by Welter.

Function. Special-purpose site: sanctuary.

Habitation site: fortification ?

Comment. Poros became well-known as the centre of the Kalaureian amphictiony, if there was such an organisation (see Hall [J.] 1995a, 577-613).

Poros: The Temple of Poseidon at Palátia

Wide and Kjellberg, 1895, 296-326.
Frickenhaus and Müller [W.] 1911, 32-33, 37.
Harland 1925, 160-171.
Faraklas 1972, 16, figs. 15a to 18b.
Foley 1988, 148, 194.

Location. On the plateau of Palátia, a little over 1 km from the north-east coast, in a saddle between the highest hills of the island, c. 550 m above sea level.

Features. The sanctuary dates from the geometric period, but other finds suggest a date possibly as early as the ninth century for the introduction of the cult in this area. The main structural remains are of the temple itself, standing in an enclosure measuring 55.5 m long by 26.6 m wide. Very little survives of this building, but its capitals and other features date it to the late sixth century (c. 520). The stone apparently comes from Aigina. The presence of roof-tiles of earlier date has, however, been noted by Welter (1941, 10, 45) and this may indicate an earlier temple, probably of mud-brick. Remains of various other structures have been found, but they are all of late date.

Finds. Various small finds were published by Wide and Kjellberg, including pottery of several periods, among them mycenaean, geometric, and archaic. From the publication it seems that they found a fairly large quantity of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery.

There were also bronzes and figurines, although only a few examples of each were actually published. Animals are mentioned quite frequently among the bronzes. It is clear that bronze pots and other ornaments had also been dedicated at the sanctuary. Seated females, mounted riders, and animals are the common types of figurines.

Comments. Continuity of cult from the bronze age has been claimed here, since the cult was established in an area of late helladic tombs. However, because no iron age material has been found, the probability that the cult dates back to the bronze age is slim (Foley 1988, 148).

The earliest temple belongs to Poseidon. The site was also a settlement in the archaic and later periods, which may have had defensive walls in the classical period (Foley 1988, 194).

Apparently the people from Ýdhra took the stone from the sanctuary to build their mansions.

Poros: North of modern Póros

Welter 1941.

Faraklas 1972, 16.

Foley 1988, 194.

Location. North of modern Póros.

Excavation. Unexcavated.

Features. In the archaic period a sanctuary was possibly established here.

Poros: Megalokhóri

Touchais 1988, 628.

B Eforeía, 1987, 109-110.

Location. Not located on map.

Excavation. Greek Eforeía, surface finds.

Finds. Around Megalokhóri they found many inscriptions published in *IG* IV (often with mistakes) and four other unpublished inscriptions (three stelai and a base). Three archaic inscriptions, *IG* IV.853, 854, and 857, were transferred to the Poros Museum.

Appendix B

A Postscript to Mining: The Metal Objects

The following account, intended as a postscript to mining, shows some of the more interesting uses to which metals were put in the archaic Argolid. These include agricultural implements, building materials and tools, coins, domestic items, jewellery, footwear, and military objects. Metals were certainly used in other contexts, such as in casting statues, but as non-practical objects, they tell us little about everyday life.

The bulk of the evidence that has survived comes from religious rather than domestic contexts, although many of the objects could have been used before being dedicated. We must bear in mind that archaeological record of metal artifacts is seriously compromised and depleted by several post-depositional factors: the melting down of votives by temple officials, the increasing frequency of plunder from the late classical period onwards, and the susceptibility of metals to corrosion and disintegration (Hodkinson 1998, 56). Consequently, the number of excavated metal artifacts is a minimum to be multiplied many times over in any estimation of their original numbers.

Agricultural Implements

It is often assumed that Hesiod (*Op.* 387 and elsewhere) refers to metal agricultural implements, but, as Morgan (1990, 197) points out, there is scant evidence to support this assertion. Some knives, perhaps used as agricultural implements, have been found in the Argolid; yet we have no evidence of sickles, scythes for cutting grass, or other common implements.

Building Materials and Tools

Stone, wood, and mudbrick were the main building materials in archaic Greece, although metals had a part to play in construction work as well. Clamps and dowels made of iron were used in the building of many temples. Sometimes ceilings, vaulted roofs, and even walls were gilded, though most of the evidence for this has not survived. Our evidence for the use of metals as building materials in the Argolid is unfortunately limited to iron nails. Iron nails were found in an archaic deposit at the Kháos shrine near Mykenai (Cook [J.] 1953a, 32; Hägg 1987, 98).

More evidence exists for the use of metal tools. Heads of carpenters' tools were often produced from iron. Sunk into the floor of the temple of Apollo at Halieis were found iron axe-adze and double axe heads (Jameson 1974b, 116). Perhaps these had a monetary value or were used as tools in the construction of the temple and then dedicated to the god. Also found here was a bronze tube with a ram's head (Michaud 1972, 651, fig. 156), which may have been used as a pick.

Knives, spatulas, and other such implements from the Heraion may have been tools (Waldstein 1905, 259, 264, 299-300, pls. 92, 126; Caskey and Amandry 1952, 182, pl. 47; Strøm 1998, 88). They find counterparts in the neighbouring deposits or in the sanctuaries of Argos (Strøm 1998, 88).

Coins

Silver was an important metal in Greek coinage, especially for Athens, because of its own silver mines. Where silver was not locally available, coins were made by either overstriking or counter-marking coins in circulation, or by striking new coins from melted silver or from imported bullion. Early coin dies were made from bronze or steel.

We have evidence of silver coins being used at Argos from about 468 onwards (Gardner 1887, 52; Babelon 1907, 828; Head 1911, 437). Some were found beneath the floor of the Isthmian temple of Poseidon in a deposit that was buried around 480-475 (Kraay

1976, 96-98, pl. 16). Troizen also yielded silver coins of the second quarter of the fifth century (Gardner 1887, 56; Babelon 1907, 495; Head 1911, 443).

Domestic Items

Many metals were used domestically for making furniture, tableware, utensils, and toilet articles. Metals also strengthened or merely decorated wooden furniture. Bronze and occasionally silver were used for tableware, everyday utensils, and toilet articles.

Furniture

We have some bronze furniture fragments from the Argolid. At the Heraion fragments of low tripod stands with lion's paws were found (Athens, NAM 14020, 14019, 20631 b and c: Waldstein 1905, 295-296, pls. 124-125; Strøm 1998, 80), suggesting the use of the tripod rings and bowl as a foot bath, for which the large dimensions and low position of the bowls seems appropriate (Strøm 1988, 80). They may have been symposium equipment (Strøm 1998, 80).

Moreover, four examples of double paws of lions connected with a bar that shows traces of iron rivets are presumably parts of furniture, but their function is unknown (Athens, NAM 14024: Waldstein 1905, 296, pl. 125; Strøm 1998, 81).

Tableware

The enormous quantity of tableware from the Argolid attests to the frequent use of bronze in contexts involving eating and drinking. The majority of these come from sanctuaries, where feasting and banqueting occurs in large numbers (see Chapter III). At the Heraion more than a thousand fragmentary bronze vases or separate fragments were found, including miniature vases, which were non-functional (Waldstein 1905, 275-298; Caskey and Caskey and Amandry 1952, 179-180 nos. 72-79, pl. 46; Strøm 1998, 78). A rather large part of the large bronze vases belongs to banqueting services; they comprise cauldrons, kraters, *hydriai*, *oinochoai*, jugs, *skyphoi*, bowls, and other drinking vessels, as

well as plates for serving food (Athens, NAM 20581, 20584 d, 20586, 20587 b, 20623, 20658: Waldstein 1905, 284-286, 288-289, 294, pls. 112-120, 123; Caskey and Amandry 1952, 179; Rolley 1986, 242, fig. 264; Strøm 1998, 81-83).

There is no decisive sign of banqueting equipment having played the same role at Argos as at the Heraion (Strøm 1998, 85). Very few fragments of bronze vases have been found in the sanctuaries of Argos, but both the Athena sanctuary on the Larisa and the Aphrodision have yielded fragments of handle plates with palmette-volute ornaments (Strøm 1998, 85). Other bronze vases, including *phialai*, of normal and miniature size were also discovered at the Aphrodision (Strøm 1998, 85). A few non-contextualised bronze vessels have been attributed to Argos on typological grounds; many come from the collection of bronzes in the Louvre (Paris, Louvre: 2665, 2721, 2731, 2749-2750, 2756, 2758, 2760: de Ridder 1915, 108, 113-115, 127. pl. 98-99; Lamb 1929, 136).

Several bronze pots come from tombs in Argos and may have been connected with ritual dining. In an area east of Kypséli Square at Argos a tomb containing a shallow bronze bowl was found (Strøm 1998, 85). A *phiale* was found in another tomb on the Florou plot at 12 Theátrou Párodhos (Kritzas 1979, 214; Strøm 1998, 85).

Utensils

In addition to bronze vessels, the Argolic sanctuaries have yielded many bronze utensils, connected with the function of vases, such as ladles, sieves, and other implements for scooping. At the Heraion this equipment was found in large numbers (Athens, NAM 13982: Waldstein 1905, 296-297, pls. 125, 129, 136; Strøm 1998, 82).

Toiletry Articles

Among the most common toiletry articles found in the Argolid are bronze mirrors. They belong to a class of votive objects that had sometimes been used before being dedicated; many, however, were too small and fragile for anything but votives. The two common types are hand mirrors and stand mirrors.

The hand mirror is almost exclusively found at the Heraion (Athens, NAM 14012, 20453, 20456 and 20458: Waldstein 1905, 264-266, pls. 92-93, 103-105; Caskey and Amandry 1952, 180 nos. 84, 86, pl. 46; Strøm 1998, 76) and Prosymna (Blegen 1939, 414-415, fig. 5; Oberländer 1967, 237 no. 361; Strøm 1998, 78), except for one fragment at Troizen (Oberländer 1967, 26) and a possible handle fragment from the Aphrodision of Argos (Argos Mus. 73/658: Daux 1968, 1029; Strøm 1998, 78). These were usually made of a very thin bronze plate, an indication that they were meant for votive use only (Strøm 1998, 76).

Stand mirrors have handles that serve as a stand, which enabled the mirrors to be placed upright on the shelf or table (Lamb 1929, 127). Many of the stands are in the form of female figures. Mirrors with attached handles from the Heraion are few (Athens, NAM 13975: Waldstein 1905, 196-197, 266, pls. 70, 96-98, 106-108; Jenkins 1931-32, 33; Payne [H.] 1934, 163 n2; Gjødesen 1944, 157-158; Congdon 1981, 137 no. 15, 216 no. 123, pls. 12-13; Rolley 1983, 231; 1986, 94-97; Strøm 1998, 60).

Jewellery and Clothing Accessories

Ancient jewellery was made chiefly of gold, silver, and electrum. More practical items, such as clothing accessories, were made of bronze. Some diadems, wreaths, hair ornaments, earrings, finger rings, bracelets, pendants, and attachments to clothing such as fibulae, pins, and belt buckles were found in the Argolid.

Diadems, Wreaths, and Hair Other Ornaments

There is little evidence for the use of diadems, wreaths, and hair ornaments. Several bronze sheets from the Heraion have been interpreted as diadems (perhaps they were bracelets?) (Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts inv.94.44: Waldstein 1905, 270-271, 277-278, 337, pls. 102-103, 111-112; Comstock and Vermeule [C.] 1971, 210; Strøm 1998, 88).

A lead wreath was found at Halieis in a fifth century building on the west side of the upper part of the akropolis area (Jameson 1969, 318, pl. 80). It was too small and heavy to have been worn, however.

Earrings

Earrings were more common in the Argolid. At Argos they come from tombs as well as from the sanctuary of Athena on the Larisa and the Aphrodision (Daux 1969, 996; Amandry 1953, 29-33, pl. 10; Strøm 1998, 85). A common type of earring with an inverted pyramid or cone appears at Argos in the seventh century and continues through the archaic and classical periods (Strøm 1998, 85). No archaic pendant earrings have been found at the Heraion and Prosymna.

Rings

Bronze rings were found at the temple of Apollo on the Barbouna hill at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938), on the akropolis at Mykenai (Foley 1988; Klein 1997), and at the Heraion (Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts inv.94.45: Waldstein 1905, 250-251, 332, pls. 88-89; Caskey and Amandry 1952, 180-181; Boardman 1970, 154-157; Comstock and Vermeule [C.] 1971, 201, 211-212; Strøm 1998, 85). No counterparts to these rings exist at Argos.

Necklaces and Pendants

Necklaces and pendants are rarer than rings. A bronze pendant was found on the Kamaniola plot at Asine (Michaud 1971, 874; Rafn 1979), and a necklace was found along with silver rings in a grave at Skafidháki (Verdhelis 1963, 54; Barakari-Gleni 1990, 119-123; Catling 1989, 30).

Fibulae, Pins, and Other Decorative Attachments

Fibulae, pins, belt buckles, and other decorative attachments had more practical uses than jewellery. Such items were worn to hold up clothing. Most of these objects were made of bronze and have been found in sanctuaries of female divinities or in tombs, where they were dedicated (Strøm 1995, 78).

A few examples of bronze fibulae come from Tomb 8 at Prosymna (Blegen 1938, 380, fig. 4; Strøm 1998, 85). One of the ring fibulae with a thread wire from Prosymna

(Athens, NAM 20908: Waldstein 1905, 249-250, pl. 88) is a western European type with a counterpart in the archaic deposit of the Hera shrine at Mykenai (Athens, NAM 14034: Cook [J.] 1953a, 66, fig. 41; Strøm 1998, 85). Lead was sometimes used for making fibulae. An unusual small fibula of lead shows a female and male figure representing Zeus and Hera (Alexandri 1964, 525-530; Strøm 1998, 66). It was found unused. Another small fibula of lead was found at Áyios Adhrianós together with some bronze pins (Dheïlaki-Protonotariou 1965, 65; Hall [J.] 1995a, 597; Strøm 1998, 65-66).

The Heraion collection of bronze pins includes straight pins and loop pins (Waldstein 1905, 207-250; Caskey and Amandry 1952, 181-182). Pins were also found in the Athena sanctuary on the Larisa as well as sporadically throughout Argos (Appendix A, 10-74: Jacobsthal 1956, 28-29, fig. 118; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984; Strøm 1998, 87), in a temple deposit at Dhouka (Protonotariou-Dheïlaki 1972a, 155-156), at Mykenai (Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 272.93: Jacobsthal 1956, 134), in some Prosymna tombs (Blegen 1938, 378, fig. 2; 1939, 412, fig. 3; Jacobsthal 1956, 97; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984; Strøm 1998, 87), and at Asine on the Barbouna hill (Frödin and Persson 1938, 148-151). An iron pinhead was found on Kamaniola plot at Asine (Rafn 1979, 25f.).

Belt buckles and decorative attachments for clothing were worn in archaic times. A bronze buckle apparently comes from the Heraion (Boston, Mus. of Fine Art inv. 94.42: Comstock and Vermeule [C.] 1971, 444, no. 647). A lead belt attachment was also found at Áyios Adhrianós (Alexandri 1964). And finally, a fifth century decorative attachment for clothing was found at the Heraion (Caskey and Amandry 1952, 182-183). It shows no sign of wear.

Footwear

A few pairs of iron attachments for wooden sandals come from the Argolid. One pair was discovered at Argos about 150m to the south-west of the odeon in Tomb 223 (Daux 1967b, 825, fig. 25). Another pair of fittings for the soles of boots or heavy sandals were placed between the skulls in a grave at 26 Tripóleos Street, Kannellopoulou plot (Kritzas 1977, 132-133). A third tomb north-west of Argos on Ioannidhis plot contained three pairs of iron sandals (Barakari-Gleni 1991, 171-204; Pariente 1991, 858).

Military Equipment

Iron replaced bronze as the metal for weapons in the archaic period, but bronze continued to be used for armour. The manufacture of shields and other parts of military equipment is a very important side of the bronze work of archaic Argos (Strøm 1998, 88). The Argive shield straps with relief decoration of mostly mythological subjects were to a large degree found in Olympia; only a few come from the Argolid (see Appendix A-10-61). Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that the Olympian examples were of Argive manufacture, Argive inscriptions having been already in the moulds (Kunze 1950, 212-214; Bol 1989, 88-89; Strøm 1998, 73). The most logical location for an Argive workshop of bronze shields must be in Argos itself (Strøm 1998, 73). On the other hand, there is no certain evidence of weapons from the Heraion; apparently objects of military nature were not dedicated at the Heraion (Strøm 1998, 88).

Bronze shields, iron sword handles, and other bronze weapons were found at Argos in a pit inside a grave on the Kannellopoulou plot at 26 Tripóleos Street (Appendix A, 10-56: Kritzas 1977, 122-135; Morris [I.] 1987, 184). This grave (c. 525-500) has been identified as a *heroön* to a young warrior. The area became the focus of cult in the late sixth century and was probably where young warriors were buried (Pariente 1992, 205).

Large quantities of bronze and iron swords also come from the temple of Apollo at Halieis (Michaud 1972, 651; Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 118 n47). Iron spearheads were found at the Kháos shrine as well as at Asprókhoma near Mykenai (Cook [J.] 1953a, 66-

68). Many iron spearheads come from the temple of Apollo at Halieis (Mazarakis-Ainian 1988, 188 n47).

As far as we know, only a few helmets come from the Argolid; one is the inscribed helmet to Enyalios from Asprókhoma near Mykenai (Náfplion, Leonárdho Mus.?: *SEG* 23.187; Mylonas 1966a, 70ff.; 1967a, 96; Daux 1966a, 782; Lazzarini 1976, 243; Jeffery 1990, 445 no. 3a) and another is a Corinthian one from Hermion (Kunze 1955, figs. 4-5).

Horse equipment was often part of one's military paraphernalia. Most of the bronzes connected with horses (horse bits) or carriages come from the Heraion (Waldstein 1905, 298-299, 326-328, pls. 126, 134; Jeffery 1990, 168 no. 13; Strøm 1998, 87-88).

Appendix C

The Location of Sanctuaries Whose Divinities have been Identified

Urban Sanctuaries

Sanctuaries on Akropoleis

Apollo at Asine

C-1

PAUSANIAS 2.36.4-5

APPENDIX A-22

RENAUDIN 1921, 295-308; EF 1922, 499-500; FRÖDIN and PERSSON 1938; DIETZ 1982, 101-103; HÄGG 1983b, 189-194; 1992a, 9-36; DE POLIGNAC 1984; WELLS [B.] 1987-88, 348-352; 1990, 157-161; FOLEY 1988, 142-143; MORGAN and WHITELOW 1990, 82-84; BILLOT 1992, 35-98; POULSEN [E.] 1994, 52.

At Asine the main sanctuary of Apollo (Paus. 2.36.4-5) was at the summit of the Barbouna Hill, at the centre of the geometric settlement on the north and south flanks of the hill. The first temple (Building B) was apsidal and goes back to the mid-eighth century. At the end of the eighth century a rectangular *oikos* (Building A) replaced it, until its destruction by the Argives around 710 BCE (Paus. 2.36.5). The temple was almost immediately reconstructed by the Argives; the last roof dates to the end of the sixth century (Wells [B.] 1990, 157-161).

Some of the archaic votives found in the area include cups, kraters, jugs, a *kalathos*, and a variety of cooking wares. The archaeologists also recovered figurines, mortars, and lamps.

Athena (?) at Halieis

C-2

APPENDIX A-38

DAUX 1966a, 788-789; WILLIAMS [C.] 1968, 195-196; JAMESON 1969, 319; 1974a, 67-75; BOYD and JAMESON 1981, 327-243.

Athena was apparently worshipped on the akropolis of Halieis, but no buildings can be identified with cult activity here. Two altars, an inscribed fragment of a *perrihanterion*,

and an associated votive deposit point to the presence of an archaic cult here. The marble *perrianterion* was found near one of the altars (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HS 22, 33: Jameson 1969, 320, pl. 80). Usually such lustral basins were placed at the entrances to sanctuaries to mark the spatial transition between secular and sacred territory, between secular and sacred activities (for archaeological, pictorial, and literary evidence of these lustral basins, see Ginouvès 1962, 229-310; Guettel Cole 1988, 162).

The votives here were characterised by a variety of miniature vessels, miniature bronze armour (shields, helmets, greaves), miniature bronze axes and mirrors, wreaths, bronze and silver pins and earrings, lead figurines of Spartan type, terracotta female, male, and animal figurines, and fragments of inscribed bronze (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus. HM 142, 365: Jameson 1969, 321, pl. 80).

Most votives are of types associated with a variety of deities, and even the interesting series of miniature items of armour finds parallels in the cult of more than one divinity. But the cult is unquestionably that of a goddess, and the most likely one for the acropolis is always Athena (Jameson 1974a, 71). The presence of wreaths, however, makes Hera another likely candidate.

Athena at Argos (Larisa)

C-3

PAUSANIAS 2.24.3; STRABO 8.6.7

APPENDIX A-10-81

VOLLGRAFF 1928a, 315-328, pls. 7-8; 1932, 369-393; 1934, 137-156; 1956, 51-76; 1958, 516-570; BÉQUIGNON 1930, 480; ROES 1953, 452-528; FOLEY 1988, 141; HÄGG 1992a, 11; BILLOT 1992, 56; O'BRIEN 1993, 121; HALL [J.] 1995a, 605; PIÉRTART 1996, 181.

At Argos Athena is presumed to have had a temple on the Larisa, the main akropolis of the city, where she is known as Athena Polias (Paus. 2.24.3; *SEG* 11.314; see Chapter I; and the graffiti to Athena Polias, Vollgraff 1929, 206-234; Lazzarini 1976, 243 no. 475; cf. O'Brien 1993, 121; Piérart 1996, 181).

In 1928 Vollgraff found an important votive deposit (c. 750-650 BCE) on the Larisa, which he attributed to Athena, but in reality it cannot be associated with any of the excavated structures. It dates from the mid- to late-eighth century and included over three hundred small cups, *aryballoi*, *skyphoi*, *kotylai*, *pyxides*, *kalathoi*, a krater, an *oinochoe*, hundreds of rings (some in lead), bronze and lead figurines, and a variety of iron, bronze, and bone objects.

Enyalios at Argos (Akropolis)

C-4

Athens, NAM 16515

SEG 11.327

APPENDIX A-10-81

PLUTARCH *Mul. Virt.* 245c-f

VOLLGRAFF 1934, 137-156, fig. 1; LAZZARINI 1976, 255 no. 565; FOLEY 1988, 126; JEFFERY 1990, 156, 168 no. 2, pl. 26, 444; STRØM 1998, 73.

A bronze plate with a dedicatory inscription to Enyalios was excavated in a mixed stratum with votives of the Athena sanctuary on the Larisa. It is probably Corinthian. The plaque suggests the existence of a cult, if not a sanctuary of Enyalios. No remains have ever been found to confirm its existence on the Larisa or elsewhere in Argos, but Plutarch (*Mul. Virt.* 245c-f) reports that the city of Argos had a sanctuary of Enyalios known from former times. At some point the cult may have been assimilated with that of Ares at the foot of the Larisa.

Hera at Tiryns

C-5

PAUSANIAS 2.24.3

APPENDIX A-16

SCHLIEMANN 1886, 229; FRICKENHAUS, MÜLLER [W.], and OELMANN 1912, 56-93, 10-105; BLEGEN 1921, 130ff.; VERDHELIS, JAMESON, and PAKHRISTODHOULOU 1976, 150-205, esp. 198-201; JANTZEN 1975, 105, 189-191; KILIAN, PODZUWEIT, and WEISSHAAR 1981, 159-160; WRIGHT 1982, 198; FOLEY 1988, 126-128, 146-147; LOUCAS-DURIE 1989, 299-302; JAMESON 1990a, 213-223; ANTONACCIO 1993, 61; HALL [J.] 1995a, 598.

Scholars disagree about the identity of the deity worshipped on the upper citadel at Tiryns. Some follow Jameson's (Verdhelis, Jameson, and Papakhristodhoulou 1976, 199; Antonaccio 1993, 61) earlier identification of the building as the temple of Athena and perhaps Zeus and Herakles, arguing from the archaic inscription of a law (see Chapter I). In a more recent article, however, Jameson (1990a, 213-223) seems less anxious to defend this identification. Instead, he argues that the terracotta masks discovered in the *bothros* at Tiryns should (Jantzen 1975, 159-161), by analogy with the mask found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Carter 1987, 355-383), be connected with an adolescent ritual in honour of a female divinity and a male hero. The hero intimately associated with Tiryns is Herakles, whose name, meaning 'glory of Hera', suggests that Hera was his divine partner (see also Foley 1988, 147; Wright 1982, 198). The hideous masks also recall the description of the outward disfigurement of the mad daughters of Proitos of Tiryns, whose madness was provoked by Hera or Dionysos and spread to all women of the city (Diphilus, *Fragment* 126; Hesiod, *Fragment* 37.14f; 133).

The identification of Hera is strengthened by a graffito with her name on the base of a classical black glaze bowl found on the citadel (Jantzen 1975, 105; cf. Verdhelis, Jameson, and Papakhistodhoulou 1976, 199; Johnston 1979, 277-280). Alongside the epigraphic evidence, we have that of the ancient authors (Pausanias 2.17.4-15, 8.46.3; Moschus Megara 38; Clement of Alexandria Protreptus 4.47.5), whose testimonies lend strong support to the presence of a Hera cult on the citadel. Pausanias (2.17.4-15) tells us that the old cult statue at Tiryns, brought to the Heraion when the Argives destroyed the 'town' in the fifth century, was a small, seated image of Hera.

As Hall (1995a, 598) remarks, the appearance of wreaths and pomegranates and the striking parallels between many of the votives at Tiryns and those at the Heraion also point to Hera as chief deity. The other votives found here include many miniature bowls, *skyphoi*, and other shapes, terracotta figurines, a few bronze rings, pins, and fibulae.

Hera at Mykenai (Akropolis)

C-6

PAUSANIAS 2.24.3

WRIGHT 1982, 194 n44; HÄGG 1987, 97; FOLEY 1988, 144; KLEIN 1993, 336-337; 1997, 247-322; ANTONACCIO 1994, 88; HALL [J.]. 1995a, 600.

In the *Iliad* (IV.52) Mykenai is described as one of Hera's favourite sites (Wright 1982, 14 n44; Hall [J.] 1995a, 600). We know that one of Mykenai's urban sanctuaries was probably dedicated to her in the early sixth century. It lies over the ruins of the bronze age palace on the akropolis. Although this sanctuary has often been attributed to Athena on the basis of a bronze plaque, found north-west of the citadel and dated about 500 BCE or a little later (Athens, NAM 11757: *IG* IV 492; *SEG* 11.299, 40.334; Tsountas 1887, 158-172; 1888, 59-79; Roehl 1907, no. 51.1; Schwyzer 1923, 48 no. 97; Vollgraff 1929, 221-222; Wace 1949, 86; Buck 1955, 282 no. 80; Levi 1945, 301; Marcadé 1953, 184-185; Jeffery 1990, 174 no. 2, 445; Lambrinudakis 1990, 180-181; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 88; Antonaccio 1993, 61), Hall (1995a, 599-600) has convincingly argued for the worship of Hera (see also Hägg 1987, 97; Foley 1988, 144; Antonaccio 1994, 88). A boundary stone (c. 470-460 BCE) from the *temenos* of Hera (Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus.: *SEG* 13.236, 42.284; Wace, Hood, and Cook [J.] 1953, 27-29, fig. 5; Jeffery 1990, 174 no. 4), the relief sculpture of a woman lifting a veil (Athens, NAM inv.2869: Kourouniotis 1901, 18-22; Harl-Schaller 1972-73, 94-116; Raftopoulou, 1993, 5), and a few female figurines and an ox figurine, together with a sherd dedicated to Hera (Hall [J.] 1995a, 600 n156), point in favour of a cult of Hera.

Herakles at Tiryns

C-7

FRICKENHAUS, MÜLLER [W.], and OELMANN 1912, 19; FOLEY 1988, 127; SALOWEY 1995, 20.

Since Tiryns is the homeland of Amphytrion, Herakles' mortal father, and the place from which Herakles began the Labours, it is likely that there would have been a cult of Herakles here. He is mentioned in the sacral law from the lower city (see Chapter I, *SEG* 22.269; Verdhelis, Jameson, and Papakhistodoulou 176, 15-203). It is difficult to know, however, whether this refers to a sanctuary of Herakles or the name of a month in the sacred calendar. It is likely that Herakles was an established divinity in Tiryns in archaic times and that he received a temple here (Foley 1988, 127; Salowey 1995, 20). If correct, then it would be the earliest reference for the worship of Herakles in Greece (Salowey 1995, 20).

Frickenhaus, Müller [W.], and Oelmann (1912, 19) provide evidence for an early cult of Herakles by quoting Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 42), who states that two Kretan sculptors, Dipoinos and Skyllis, created a statue of Herakles at Tiryns. The sculptors can be dated to the fiftieth Olympiad (580-577 BCE) by Pliny (*N.H.* 36.9-10), so there may have been at least a statue of Herakles at Tiryns in the archaic period.

Poseidon at Kalaureia

C-8

PAUSANIAS 2.33.2; STRABO 8.374

APPENDIX A-70

WIDE and KJELLBERG 1895, 267-326, esp. 296-326; FRICKENHAUS and MÜLLER [W.] 1911, 21-38, esp. 32-33, 37; HARLAND 1925, 160-171; WELTER 1941, 10, 45; KELLY 1966, 113-121; BERGQUIST 1967, 35; SNODGRASS 1971, 402; FARAKLAS 1972, 16, figs. 15a to 18b; FOLEY 1988, 148, 194; HALL [J.] 1995a, 597.

The temple of Poseidon on the island of Póros is on the plateau of Palátia, a little over one kilometre from the north-east coast, in a saddle between the highest hills of the island, about 550 metres above sea level. It was never properly excavated or published, but it seems that the sanctuary dates from the geometric period, when a temple of mudbrick may have been built (Welter 1941, 10, 45). The finds, however, suggest a date possibly as early as the ninth century for the introduction of the cult in the area.

Today only the main structural remains of the archaic temple (late sixth century) are *in situ*. In the last quarter of the sixth century the sanctuary acquired a temple and an altar. The discovery of an inscribed marble base to Poseidon was made in the sanctuary of Poseidon between the *propylon* and the *bouleuterion* (Póros Mus. ΜΠ 628: *SEG* 38.324).

The inscription remains undated and awaits fuller publication. The appearance of bronze horses and bulls and male terracotta riders among the dedications strengthen his identification (Hall [J.] 1995a, 597), but seated females are also mentioned. Other votives include bronze vessels and various bronze ornaments.

The sanctuary is meant to be the centre of an early amphictiony (Strabo 8.374; Paus. 2.33; Welter 1941; Kelly 1966, 113-121; Bergquist 1967, 35; Snodgrass 1971, 402), but Hall (1995a) has convincingly argued against this theory. If, as is suspected, the site was also a settlement in the archaic and later periods, when defensive walls were built (Foley 1988, 194), this temple must thus be interpreted as urban.

Zeus at Argos (Larisa)

C-9

PAUSANIAS 2.24.3

APPENDIX A-10-81

EF 1928, 476; 1955b, 314; VOLLGRAFF 1928a, 315-328, pls. 7-8; 1932, 369-393; 1934, 137-156; 1956, 51-76; BÉQUIGNON 1930, 480; SCRANTON 1941, 34-35; ROES 1953, 190-291; ROUX 1957, 474-487; COURBIN 1966, 12, 27; BOARDMAN 1963b, 122; DAUX 1965b, 896; 1966c, 932; TOMLINSON 1972, 24; FOLEY 1988, 140-142; BILLOT 1989-90, 56; JEFFERY 1990, 158-159; HÄGG 1992a, 9-36, esp. 11; O'BRIEN 1993, 121; HALL [J.] 1995a, 605; PIÉRART 1996, 181.

Little is known of Zeus' temple on the Larisa, except that the foundations situated to the east of the temple of Athena Polias may be those of Zeus Larisaian (Paus. 2.24.3). O'Brien (1993, 121) maintains that Zeus sanctuary on the akropolis is of late date, but Piérart (1996, 181) sees his cult beginning with that of Athena Polias.

Sanctuaries on the Slopes of Akropoleis

Aphrodite at Troizen

C-10

PAUSANIAS 2.32.6

APPENDIX A-56

LEGRAND 1905, 271-274; WELTER 1941, 19-20; PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 182-183.

On the slopes of the akropolis at Troizen a temple with *pronaos*, *cella*, and statue base was discovered by Legrand at the turn of the century. He identified it with Pan (Paus. 2.32.6), but Welter (1941, 19-20) believes it to have belonged to Aphrodite (Paus. 2.32.6). The locality of this temple on the slopes towards the akropolis may have contributed to her epithet, Aphrodite Akraia ('Height').

A few architectural fragments in the Póros museum have been attributed to this sanctuary; they seem to date to the late archaic period.

The Dioskouroi at Argos ?

C-11

PAUSANIAS 2.22.5-6

TOMLINSON 1972, 213; MARCHETTI-KOLOKOTSAS 1995, 218-219; MORETTI [J.-C.] 1998, 237ff.

Two inscriptions from Argos were probably dedicated to the Dioskouroi. The first is a stone base for bronze *kouros* statue (c. 590-570 BCE) dedicated by the sons of Nirakhas (Berlin Mus. 7837; *IG* IV 564; *SEG* 15.201; Roberts 1887, 108 no. 72; Collitz and Bechtel 1899, 121-122 no. 3262; Roehl, 1907 no. 36.1; Neugebauer 1931, 78f.; Schwyzer 1923, no. 79; Lazzarini 1976, 206 no. 203; Jeffery 1990, 156, 168 no. 6, pl. 26). Its context is unknown. The second inscription of the fifth century was found in the area of the theatre (Argos Mus. Inv. E44: EF 1956b, 389 no. 1). Like the previous inscription, it mentions the Anakes, the Dioskouroi.

It is possible that the Dioskouroi were worshipped in the area of the theatre on the slopes of the Larisa in the fifth century, but Pausanias' (2.22.5) only mention of a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi in Argos places it near the Eilithyia gates. Piérart (1982, 146) locates their sanctuary in the north-eastern part of the ancient city (see also below).

Erasínos at Argos

C-12

SEG 11.329

APPENDIX A-10-40

VOLLGRAFF 1932-33, 231-238; 1933, 231-238; EF 1955b, 310-331, esp. 317; 1956b, 361-399, esp. 386, 391; AUPERT et al. 1982, 637-651, esp. 647; ABADIE et al. 1983, 839-853, esp. 839-840; CATLING 1989, 25; GUGGISBERG 1988a, 167-234; 1988b, 535-543; PARIENTE, AUPERT, and MORETTI [J.-C.] 1988, 720; JEFFERY 1990, 169 no. 27; MORETTI [J.-C.] 1998, 233-234.

In the area of the theatre of Argos, on the slopes of the Lárisa, Vollgraff (1933, 231-238) found an archaic inscription (c. 475-450 BCE) on the lip of a small bronze vase, reading: 'I belong to Erasínos of Argos', in a well dug into the rock at the level of the seating area. The implication is that in this zone was once a sanctuary. If the inscription was found *in situ*, as the excavator believes, it attests to a cult of Erasínos (the river) in this area from the early fifth century (Moretti [J.-C.] 1998, 239).

Herakles at Argos

C-13

Argos Mus. Inv.88.44.3

SEG 39.351

APPENDIX A-10-40

PARIENTE, AUPERT, and MORETTI [J.-C.] 1989, 721; MORETTI [J.-C.] 1998, 240.

An attic red figure krater inscribed with the name of Herakles ([Hρ]ακλεος) was found in the theatre at Argos. Moretti (1998, 240) takes this as evidence that there was a sanctuary of Herakles near the theatre.

Sanctuaries in the *Agora*

Aphrodite at Argos

C-14

PAUSANIAS 2.20.8

APPENDIX A-10-64

DAUX 1968, 1003-1045, esp. 1021-1039; 1969, 966-1024, esp. 966; EFA 1969, 143-144; 1970, 121-124, esp. 122; 1979, 259-261; BOMMELAER, CROISSANT, and GRANDJEAN 1971, 745-747; CROISSANT 1972, 137-154; 1983; CROISSANT and AUPERT 1973, 475-500; CROISSANT, AUPERT, and PIÉRART 1974, 759-782; CROISSANT et al. 1975, 695-708, esp. 696-699; COULTON 1976; FOLEY 1988, 141; DES COURTILS 1992, 241; PIÉRART and TOUCHAIS 1996, 53.

At Argos Aphrodite's temple was near the centre, south-west of the *agora*, at the seat of government (Paus. 2.20.8). Although cultic activity goes back to the seventh century to judge from the pottery, the actual temple was apparently erected in the late fifth century on a terrace built in the second half of the sixth century (des Courtils 1992, 241). A rectangular structure, however, was perhaps an earlier temple or altar dating to the middle or late sixth century.

The identification of Aphrodite is secured by two graffiti (c. 450), inscribed Aphrodite (τας Αφρ[οδιτ]ας | [ανε]θεκε ταφρ[ο]δ[ι]τι), found during the excavations of the Aphrodision (Argos Mus. SEG 31.317; Daux 1968, 1028 fig. 15; 1969, 1003, fig. 34; Lazzarini 1976, 189 no. 73, 242 no. 473).

Plenty of votives, including miniature cups, *krateriskoi*, *oinochoai*, *lekythoi*, amphorae, *skyphoi*, *kalathoi*, female and animal figurines, terraocotta rings, a bronze *phiale*, a mirror, rings, a miniature gold figurine, and moulded lead miniature figurines were recovered during excavations. Many of the pots date to the fifth century, whereas the figurines have been dated to the late seventh and sixth centuries, thus provided some indication of the date of the establishment of the cult here (Foley 1988, 141). Bronzes are extremely scarce at this sanctuary.

PAUSANIAS 2.19.3-5

APPENDIX A-10-65

TOUCHAIS 1986, 688; CATLING 1986, 26; 1987, 18; MARCHETTI 1994, 136-137; HALL [J.] 1995a, 606. PIÉRART and TOUCHAIS 1996, 47-51; PITEROS 1998, 198.

The most important (and reputedly the earliest) cult at Argos was that of Apollo Lykios ('The Wolf'), whose sanctuary is situated somewhere in the *agora* (Paus. 2.19.3-5; Hall [J.] 1995a, 606). It was hypothetically located under the present Karmoyianni café at the entrance to the archaeological site (Hall [J.] 1995a, 606), but this location has recently been challenged (Marchetti 1994, 136-137). In studying the design of the large classical stoa (Pi) in the south part of the *agora* (squares BA/BB 83.85), the excavators revealed traces of an earlier polygonal terrace wall, i.e. a foundation wall belonging to a building (PA), which is earlier than the classical Stoa Pi (Catling 1987, 18). Associated with it were layers dating to the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century (Touchais 1986, 688; Catling 1986, 26). This terrace is at the centre of three large streets of modern Argos, where the sanctuary of Apollo is thought to be, and corresponds to the principle part of the sanctuary, where the actual temple stood. The orientation of the terrace, which is almost exactly parallel to the *poros* foundation of the south wall of the classical building (Stoa Pi), is exactly what we expect for the temple of Apollo (Marchetti 1994, 136-137). So, the temple is now thought to be situated in the south-east corner of the *agora* (Piérart and Touchais 1996, 47-51; Piteros 1998, 198).

*Apollo at Troizen**C-16*

PAUSANIAS 2.31.6; 2.32.2

LEGRAND 1893, 93; 1905, 281-282; WELTER 1941, 18; BILLOT 1992, 70; JAMESON, RUNNELS, and VAN ANDEL 1994, 72.

Pausanias (2.31.6) regarded the temple of Apollo Thearios in the *agora* of the Troizen as one of the three oldest he knows of; a date in the seventh century would thus be reasonable for this cult. Like the temple of Apollo Lykios at Argos, this temple is at the political centre of the city, where they set up official acts (*IG* IV 748, 755).

In front of the Apollo sanctuary stood a hut of Orestes that was said to have been erected to avoid receiving the murderer in a normal house (Paus. 2.31.8). A priestly group met there weekly for a sacral meal. Apparently Apollo himself purified Orestes at Delphi with a pig sacrifice (Burkert 1985, 81). Vase paintings (Paris, Louvre, K710) give an

idea of the procedure, similar to that used in the purification of the Proitides: the piglet is held over the head of the person to be purified and the blood must flow directly onto the head and hands.

Herakles at Troizen

C-17

APPENDIX A-28

PAUSANIAS 2.32.4

WELTER 1941, 34-36.

According to myth, Herakles was active in Troizen as well. In the *temenos* of Hippolytos there was a fountain of Herakles, so named because Herakles helped the Troizenians find water (Paus. 2.32.4). Archaeologically, the spring can be identified near the healing area of the Asklepieion and the temple of Hippolytos, where a fountain house was supplied with water from a natural spring, originating at the base of Mt. Adheres, ancient Phorbantion (Welter 1941, 34-36). Welter concludes that the mineralogical properties of the water here probably formed the basis for the cult of Asklepios at the site.

Moreover, a stone *stele* (c. 425-400 BCE) dedicated by Euthymides to Asklepios mentions Herakles at Troizen (Athens, EM ? : *IG* IV 760; *IG* IV³ 1159; *SEG* 36.351; Legrand 1893, 86ff.; Roehl 1907, no. 110.8; Schwyzer 1923, no. 103; Jeffery 1990, 177-178, 182 no. 6).

Demeter at Argos (Agora)

C-18

PAUSANIAS 2.22.1

APPENDIX A-10-65

DHEİLAKI 1977, 119; 1979, 199-211, esp. 208-209; TOUCHAIS 1978, 644; 1980, 590-618, esp. 596; CONSOLAKI and HACKENS 1980, 279-294; SCHACHTER 1990, 12.

Demeter is thought to have had one or two sanctuaries near the *agora* at Argos (Paus. 2.22.1, see also 1.14.2). Her epithet, Pelasgia, no doubt meant to imply that she was an ancient goddess (Schachter 1990, 12). Dheïlaki (1977, 119) proposes to see the classical temple discovered on the Koros plot at Atreos Street and Theatrou Parodhos, on the east side of the *agora* as the sanctuary to Demeter Pelasgia. The identity of the goddess worshipped here is controversial, however, and Dheïlaki herself admits that it could also be the temple of Hera Antheia. Others have proposed Athena Salpix ('Trumpet'), who is known from a fourth century inscription discovered nearby (Argos Mus. Inv. E 67: Touchais 1978, 789-790; Piérart 1982, 127 n22; 1983, 272 n23; Charneux 1983, 264; Piérart 1996, 191-193; see also Paus. 2.21.3). What is clear is that the archaic material found under this sanctuary suggests an older date for the cult (of a goddess) here.

Hera at Argos (Agora)

C-19

PAUSANIAS 2.22.1; 2.24.1

APPENDIX A-10-57

KHARITONIDHES 1968, 125-132, esp. 127-128; KRITZAS 1979, 230-242; TOUCHAIS 1980, 590-618; FOLEY 1988, 141; BILLOT 1992, 57; HALL [J.] 1995a, 605.

Hera is thought to have had a sanctuary on the *agora* at Argos, though her cult was apparently not that important here (Paus. 2.22.1, 2.24.1; Pollux 4.78; Billot 1992, 57). In south-west Argos, on the Bonoris plot (Tripoleos 7b) near the *agora*, the Greek Archaeological Service uncovered a fifth century structure and a large votive deposit (figurines, wreaths, spools, loom-weights, *kotylai*, and other pottery), which included a sherd inscribed to Hera (*he[ρας επι ?]*). The area was sacred by the early archaic period (seventh century), and the structure was perhaps the small shrine or altar of Hera Antheia, in, or close to, the *agora* (Paus. 2.22.1; Foley 1988, 141; Hall [J.] 1995a, 605).

Hippolytos at Troizen

C-20

PAUSANIAS 2.32.1

APPENDIX A-56

WELTER 1941, 34; MUSTI and TORELLI 1986, 320-322; BILLOT 1992, 71.

Pausanias (2.32.1) mentions a very famous precinct of Hippolytos near the *agora* at Troizen. Only the foundations of the temple can be seen today.

Zeus at Argos (Agora)

C-21

PAUSANIAS 2.20.3

APPENDIX A-10-36

EF 1956b, 366; 1957, 673-674; CHARLES 1958, 268-313; KRITZAS 1976, 203; TOUCHAIS 1977, 547; COURBIN 1980, 110-111; FOLEY 1988, 141; PARIENTE 1992, 205; MARCHETTI 1993, 221-223; 1994, 131-160; HALL [J.] 1995a, 606.

The area around the *agora*, at Gkrania plot between Gounari Street and the theatre, was originally associated with the cult of Apollo Lykios, but now has been re-attributed to that of Zeus. Here the excavators found a rectangular *sekos* with an important group of votives and a lyre made from tortoise shell. Because of the lyre, which is reminiscent of Pausanias' description (2.19.7) within the sanctuary of Apollo Lykios of a statue of Hermes with a tortoise that the god had caught to make a lyre, the area was originally attributed with Apollo. Now excavators believe that the *sekos* was probably a *heroön* rather than a votive deposit in the sanctuary of Zeus.

Pausanias says that the actual temple is to Nemean Zeus, which means that it was probably erected after Argos took hold of the Nemean Games at the end of the fifth century. Nevertheless, the area was no doubt consecrated to Zeus in archaic times.

Urban Sanctuaries on Roads in Towns

Artemis at Argos

C-22

PAUSANIAS 2.21.1; 2.23.5

APPENDIX A-10-66

VOLLGRAFF 1920, 219-220; LIPPOLD 1950, 170; AUPERT 1987, 515-516; DES COURTILS 1992, 249; MARCHETTI 1994, 134; BRULOTTE 1994, 105-108.

A building was found between the theatre area and the city centre of Argos, parallel to the axis formed by the ancient road that ran along the modern Gounari/Tripoleos from Kórinthos to Tegea. The structure (mid-fifth century) is unusual for it is square plan, with sixteen equidistant Ionic columns resting on square bases. It is similar but smaller than the council hall at Sikyon, and for this reason some scholars see it as functioning as a *bouleuterion* for the city (des Courtils 1992, 249). Others, however, maintain that here is the sanctuary of Artemis Peitho ('Persuasion') (Paus. 2.21.1; Vollgraff 1920, 219-220; cf. Aupert 1987, 515-516). The building also appears ideally situated to be a commemorative monument of Danaos (Marchetti 1994, 134).

All the epigraphical evidence for the worship of Artemis at Argos is late, except for an inscribed limestone *stele* dated to about 430-420 BCE (Lippold 1950, 170 pl. 41.1; Brulotte 1994, 106-108). It depicts Artemis in the guise of huntress and was offered by a certain Polystrata. It belongs to one of the two cults in the city mentioned by Pausanias (Peitho 'Of Persuasion' at 2.21.1 or Pheraia at 2.23.5).

Urban Sanctuaries on the Sea

Aphrodite at Palaiá Epídhavros

C-23

SEG 40.339

APPENDIX A-31

PAPADHIMITRIOU 1952, 212.

A inscription to Aphrodite was found on the acropolis at Palaiá Epídhavros. Although no exact details or photographs have been published, it is possible that the graffito dates to the fifth century.

Apollo at Mases

C-24

APPENDIX A-36

DENGATE [J.] 1975, 149; FOLEY 1988, 179-180; COOPER [N.] 1990, 74-76; BILLOT 1992, 42-43; JAMESON, RUNNELS, and VAN ANDEL 1994, 469.

The unexcavated temple discovered at Mases, in the terraced agricultural fields on the west slopes of the Frankthí headland, a little over one kilometre east of Koiládha across the bay, is contemporary with and similar to that of Halieis' temple of Apollo. It could well belong to Apollo (Billot 1992, 43).

The finds include over two hundred and fifty sherds (several miniature cups), heavy Corinthian roof tiles, loom-weights, spools, a figurine, and various architectural elements.

Artemis at Palaiá Epídhavros

C-25

PAUSANIAS 2.29.1

APPENDIX A-31

ARKHONDIDHOU-ARYRI 1984, 46-49.

Pausanias (2.29.1) mentions a temple to Artemis at Palaiá Epídhavros. This seems to correspond to a sizeable temple that had its origins in the sixth century (Arkhondidhou-Aryri 1984, 46-49).

Poseidon at Hermione ?

C-26

PAUSANIAS 2.34.9-10

APPENDIX A-50

PHILADHELPHEUS 1910, 177-179; FRICKENHAUS and MÜLLER [W.] 1911, 21-38, esp. 37; JAMESON 1959, 109-120; McALLISTER 1969, 169-185; FOLEY 1988, 181; JAMESON, RUNNELS, and VAN ANDEL 1994, 488-489, 589-590.

In 1909 Philadhelpheus cleared the foundation of a late archaic temple on the 'Bitsi' in Hermione and deposited the few architectural remains that he found in the church of Áyios Nikólaos. All of these have now disappeared, but a brief study of the remains *in situ* has been published by McAllister in 1969. She dates the building to the end of the sixth century, and believes that it was dedicated to Poseidon or, less likely, to Athena (Paus.2.34.11). The money received by Ermióni from the Samian exiles for the purchase of the island of Hydrea (modern Ýdhra) may have been used to pay for its construction (Hdt. 3.58-59). At some point the temple was completely destroyed, and when the church was built, only the temple's foundations were worth using.

Suburban Sanctuaries

Extramural Sanctuaries near Town Gates

Apollo at Argos (Deiras)

C-27

PAUSANIAS 2.24.1

APPENDIX A-10-9

ROES 1953, 14; VOLLGRAFF 1956; DESHAYES 1966, 215-220; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1984, no. 2166; DE POLIGNAC 1984; 1998, 146 n4; MORGAN and WHITELOW 1990, 83; BILLOT 1990, 95-139; 1992, 52-56.

Even if the remains of what is believed to be a temple of Apollo Pythaeus at Argos, also known from its location on the Deiras ridge between the 'Aspis' and the Larisa as Apollo 'Deiradiotes' (Paus. 2.24.1), is strictly speaking inside walls of the city, it functions as a peripheral sanctuary (de Polignac 1984; 1998a, 146 n4; contra Billot 1992, 56). It was first excavated by Vollgraff in 1906 (final publication in 1956, 11-12). Subsequent remodelling of the sanctuary have caused almost all traces of the temple to vanish; only a monumental altar, two *simas*, and a series of antefixes of the mid-sixth century survive (Deshayes 1966, 215-220; Billot 1990, 95-139).

The identification of Apollo Pythaeus can be found in several official documents of Argos, one of which is an Argive inscription from Delphi (Delphi Mus. 3962-3+2720: Homolle 1897, 301: *SEG* 30.497; Karo 1910, 196-198; Dittenberger 1920, no. 28; Schwyzer 1923, no. 81; Bourguet 1929, 54ff no. 90; Amandry 1980, 234; Jeffery 1990, 162-164, 169 no. 23, pl. 28; Vatin 1991, 140-141; Bommelear 1992, 265-293).

The votives, found in a deposit just north of the sanctuary, mentioned by Vollgraff include many miniature pots as well as terracotta figurines of the archaic period.

Apollo at Halieis

C-28

APPENDIX A-38

MICHAUD 1972, 651; JAMESON 1973, 219-231; 1974b, 111-119; 1974c, 114-119; 1976c, 234-236; 1979, 261-262; MAZARAKIS-AINAIN 1988, 105-119; COOPER [N.] 1989, 33-47; 1990, 68-77; BERGQUIST 1990a, 23-37; BILLOT 1992, 42.

The oldest temple of the submerged sanctuary to Apollo dates back to the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth century. It is located outside the city, only

ten to forty metres from the shore and some six hundred metres north of the city gate on the way to Hermione.

The name of Apollo (ἄπολλον[ος]) is visible on iron keys (c. 475-450 BCE) found in the treasury of the temple (Náplio, Leonárdho Mus. HM 556: *SEG* 26.443; Jameson 1974a, 72 pl. 14; 1976c, 235; Jeffery 1990, 446 no. B). These were found along with other votives including *aryballoi*, over two hundred miniature *skyphoi* and *kotylai*, a metal votive wheel, a bronze ram utensil, a keyhole frame, an inscribed bronze plaque, iron axe-adzes, a double axe, a hoard of silver coins, iron bars and spits, iron and bronze knives, swords, and spear points.

A great deal of animal bones, amber from the Baltic, an ostrich eggshell from Africa, a rock crystal point, and a terracotta figurine were also found here. Two bases of *perirrhanteria* (lustral basins) were also found near a statue base in the front chamber of the temple.

Athena at Tiryns

C-29

APPENDIX A-16

MÜLLER [K.] 1913, 90-91; LAZZARINI 1976, 252 no. 548; JANTZEN 1975, 105; VERDHELIS, JAMESON, and PAKHRISTODHOULOU 1976, pl. 45b; FOLEY 1988, 147; JEFFERY 1990, 150 no. 9; HALL [J.] 1995a, 598-599.

An archaic inscription of a law found beside the underground passage north-west of the lower citadel at Tiryns mentions Athena Polias, along with Zeus and Herakles (see Chapter I; Verdhelis, Jameson, and Papakhristodhoulou 1976, 150-205). In addition to this inscription, a fourth century terracotta head of Athena, a fragment of a miniature shield-band, three seventh century *kantharoi*, and the rim of a black glaze krater bearing an inscribed dedication to Athena (Ἀθηναις ἐμὶ), were found in the area of the middle citadel, making the worship of Athena at Tiryns very likely (Jantzen 1975, 105). The location of the Athena cult is probably in the vicinity of the eastern gateway to the citadel (Jantzen 1975, 106; Touchais 1984, 759; Hall [J.] 1995a, 598-599).

Demeter at Halieis

C-30

APPENDIX A-38

PAUSANIAS 2.34.6 ?

JAMESON 1969, 340-341; FOLEY 1988, 149; JAMESON, RUNNELS, and VAN ANDEL 1994, 424.

A sanctuary of Demeter was identified about one hundred metres outside the city walls of Halieis, on a hill east of the akropolis. There Philadhelpheus found lamp and figurine fragments in 1909. The recent survey in the southern Argolid picked up a dense concentration of sherds from miniature cups, lamps, and fragments of terracotta figurines. The identification of Demeter is secured by a fragment of kernos, votive lamps, and female figurines carrying piglets. No date has yet been proposed for its period of use, but to judge from the votives a date in the archaic period seems reasonable.

Hera at Argos (Deiras ?)

C-31

PAUSANIAS 2.24.1

APPENDIX A-10-7

VOLLGRAFF 1906, 5-45, esp. 37; 1907, 139-184, esp. 159ff.; 1920, 219-226; 1956, 11-12, 43-45, 51-76; ROUX 1957, 474-487, esp. 486; 1961, 15, 65-82; BERGQUIST 1967, 18-19; TOMLINSON 1972, 23; COULTON 1976; AUPERT, PIÉRART, and TOUCHAIS 1980, 697-699; MUSTI and TORELLI 1986, 290; FOLEY 1988, 140-142; HÄGG 1992a, 9-36; HALL [J.] 1995a, 604-605.

Hera's second sanctuary at Argos has not yet been identified with certainty, but its location must be sought near the Deiras on the slopes of the 'Aspis'. Vollgraff's 'Building e' within the southern bastion wall on the south-west slopes of the 'Aspis' is a possible candidate for the temple of Hera Akraia mentioned by Pausanias (2.24.1). Associated finds suggest a date in the sixth century for this temple. The sanctuary itself was probably began as a terrace and an altar, and later a temple.

An archaic votive deposit (including small cups, terracotta rings, small bells, as well as some figurines), found over a floor north of the polygonal fortification wall on the north slope of the 'Aspis', also suggests cult activity associated with this yet undiscovered temple (Aupert, Piérart, and Touchais 1980, 697-699).

Extramural Sanctuaries on the Slopes of Hills

Demeter at Hermione

C-32

PAUSANIAS 2.35.4-5

APPENDIX A-50

PHILADHELPHEUS 1910, 177-179; FRICKENHAUS and MÜLLER [W.] 1911, 21-38; SCRANTON 1941, 72; JAMESON, RUNNELS, and VAN ANDEL 1994, 254, 488-489, 592-593.

Demeter was chief deity of Hermione. Her sanctuary has been located in the vicinity of the main church of the modern town, Áyios Taxiárkhis, beyond the city walls on the slopes of the Prôn (Paus. 2.35.4-5). Its reputation was already established in the sixth century.

Two inscribed dedications of bronze cows, presented to Demeter Chthonia (see Chapter I: bases from Hermione signed by Dorotheos *IG* IV 684, *SEG* 11.379 and by Kresilias, *IG* IV 683; *SEG* 11.378), are associated with this sanctuary. They were found on the ‘Bisti’, the tail of land which projects into the sea from the modern town rather than on the Prôn, because their stone bases had been reused in the construction of the south tower of the Venetian fortification (Marcadé 1953, 163). Four more inscriptions to Demeter Chthonia, spanning probably four generations, were also recovered in this area (Jameson 1953, 149, see also *Delphi Mus.* 2501: Hoff and Stephensen 1933, no. 1.234; Colin 1922, 221-221, no. 147, pls. 25.3, 26.1; Courby 1927, 234-235, fig. 186; Jeffery 1990, 178, 182 no. 7, pl. 33, where Persephone is mentioned).

Demeter at Troizen

C-33

PAUSANIAS 2.32.8-9

APPENDIX A-56

LEGRAND 1905, 302-303; WELTER 1941, 20-25.

A temple of Demeter Thesmophoros (‘Law-bearer’) was identified on the slopes of a lower hill beyond the city walls at Troizen (Paus. 2.32.8-9, who places it above the temple of Poseidon Phytalmios). Although no architectural remains were identified, a deposit including figurines, hundreds of lamps, spools, and spindles is said to come from a sanctuary associated with Demeter Thesmophoros. The divinity is identified by Welter (1941, 21) on the strength of the twenty-three female figurines, which are similar to those found in other sanctuaries of Demeter (Legrand 1905, 304-310). Welter believes that the building materials for the temple were used for later houses.

Zeus at Tiryns ?

C-34

APPENDIX A-16

TOUCHAIS 1984, 760.

In the ‘syrinx’ inscription from the citadel of Tiryns mention is made of Athena and Zeus as the patron deities of the community (see Chapter I: Frickenhaus, Müller [W.] and Oelmann 1912, 105; Verdhelis, Jameson and Papakhristodhoulou 1975, 150-205; Antonaccio 1992, 104-105). Outside the west fortification wall, around the citadel, archaic architectural fragments found in a hellenistic pit have been connected to the inscription mentioning Zeus and Athena (Touchais 1984, 760). Perhaps here lay the (yet) undiscovered temple of Zeus.

Extraurban or Rural Sanctuaries

Extraurban Sanctuaries on Roads

Apollo at Hermione (near Mt. Kokkýgion) C-35

PAUSANIAS 2.36.2

JAMESON, RUNNELS, and VAN ANDEL 1994, 580.

Pausanias (2.36.2) mentions a fourth temple of Apollo outside the city of Hermione, on the edge of Mt. Kokkýgion, on the road from Hermione to Mases. The ruinous temple has been taken to be at the beginning of the Pikrodhafni valley, since it is on an alternative route to Mases (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 580). It has not been located.

Demeter at Kourtáki ? C-36

PAUSANIAS 2.18.3

APPENDIX A-12

EFOREÍA A' 1968, 178-179; PAPAKHRISTODHOULOU 1969, 127-133, esp. 131-133; MICHAUD 1970, 960, fig. 152; 1972, 646; PROTONOTARIOU-DHEÏLAKI 1972a, 155-158, esp. 155-156; FOLEY 1988, 150, 185; HÄGG 1992a, 9-36, esp. 13.

Thousands of small pots (many *krateriskoi*) and figurines were discovered in association with the ruins of a building, situated about four kilometres north-east of Argos in the direction of the Heraion. The building may have been a ceramic workshop, because thousands of pots were found whole, stacked one inside the other. This workshop has been connected with the sanctuary of Demeter Mysia that Pausanias (2.18.3) saw on the roads from Mykenai to Argos or Tiryns. Presumably the sanctuary is to be located somewhere in the region of the workshop (Foley 1988, 150).

The Dioskouroi near Argos ? C-37

PAUSANIAS 2.36.6

LONDON, BM

IG IV 566

ROEHL 1907, no. 40.17; ROBERTS 1887, 116 no. 82a; WALTERS 1899, 28 no. 253; COLLITZ and BECHTEL 1899, 125-126 no. 3274; VOLLGRAFF 1930, 29; 1933, 236; LAZZARINI 1976, 207 no. 204; PIÉRART 1982, 146; JEFFERY 1990, 169 no. 28; BILLOT 1992, 78.

According to Pausanias (2.36.6) a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi lay between Argos and Lerna, that is, south-west of the city, near the gates of Eilithyia (cf. Piérart 1982, 146). Pausanias says that the images represent the Dioskouroi and their sons, Anaxis and

Mnasinous, and with them their mothers, Ilaeira and Phoibe. They are of ebony wood and made by Dipoinos and Skyllis, perhaps in the sixth century.

An inscription to the Dioskouroi was found in an unknown context near Argos. It is a bronze votive wheel (c. 475-450 ? BCE) inscribed to the Anakoi (Anakes), an appropriate offering to Kastor the horse-tamer (Jeffery 1990, 169). Perhaps it came from this sanctuary.

Enyalios at Mykenai (Asprókhoma)

C-38

APPENDIX A-11

Náfplio, Leonárdho Mus.?

SEG 23.187

MYLONAS 1966a, 70ff.; 1967a, 96; 1968, 103-114, esp. 111-114; DAUX 1966a 749-792, esp. 782; 1967a, 633-661, esp. 657; SHEAR [T.] 1966, 195; LAZZARINI 1976, 243; FOLEY 1988, 145; JEFFERY 1990, 445 no. 3a; ANTONACCIO 1992, 104-105.

At Mykenai Enyalios is known from an inscription on a bronze helmet 'to Enyalios' (see also Chapter I). His temple was about one kilometre north of the akropolis, at a place called Asprókhoma, on the route to Kleonai. The building identified as the temple comprised only one *sekos* oriented north-south, like the temple on the akropolis, with an entrance on the south side. An unusual feature is the presence of a door in the east side, recalling the disposition of the temple of Apollo at Bassae. Near the centre of the *sekos* remained in part a socle of which the long side was oriented towards the east doorway; perhaps it supported the cult statue.

From the associated finds (many small animal bones, early archaic *skyphoi* and *aryballoi*, and iron spear-heads) the temple has been dated in the fifth century, though late geometric and early archaic sherds point to the sanctuary having been in use from the late eighth century (Daux 1966a, 782; Foley 1988, 145).

Zeus at Stavrós

C-39

APPENDIX A-41

JAMESON, RUNNELS, and VAN ANDEL 1994, 442.

Many conglomerate blocks *in situ* together with large concentrations of pottery (cups and kraters) and some roof tiles were found in the region of Portokhéli, at the intersection of dirt roads (a place called Papastavraíika) between Portokhéli and Flámboura, probably along the ancient road (at 'cross-roads') from Halieis to Ermióni. The identification of the cult place comes from a foot *kylix* bearing a graffito to Zeus.

Extraurban Sanctuaries on Roads near Bronze Age Tombs

Hera at Mykenai (Kháos Shrine)

C-40

APPENDIX A-11

BLEGEN 1939, 428; COOK [J.] 1953a, 30-68; MARINATOS [S.] 1953, 87-88; WRIGHT 1982, 192 n7; ANTOACCIO 1987, 110 n91, 240; 1993, 68 n58; 1994, 399; and 1995, 147-152; DE POLIGNAC 1984, 131 n12; HÄGG 1987, 92-99, esp. 98; FOLEY 1988, 144-145; MORGAN and WHITELAW 1990, 85, 89; HALL [J.] 1995a, 601-603; EKROTH 1996.

A mycenaean road, running from the citadel of Mykenai, crossing the Kháos ravine by means of a viaduct in cyclopean masonry, and then skirting the eastern foothills of the Argive plain, finally arrives at the Heraion. The road was no doubt used in late geometric and archaic times, since two roadside shrines were established at this time close to its two termini (Hall [J.] 1995a, 601). One of these roadside shrines, the so-called 'Agamemnoneion', functions as the symmetrical doublet to the shrine (see below) at the end of the Mycenaean road at Prosymna (Hall [J.] 1995a, 601).

The 'Agamemnoneion' is located about one kilometre from the citadel at Mykenai, by the Kháos ravine close to the Mycenaean viaduct. The identification of the shrine as an 'Agamemnoneion' in the eighth century is controversial, because it is based on inscribed dedications dated to the hellenistic period (Cook [J.] 1953a, 64). The excavator pushes back the identification to an earlier phase because of what he sees as the predominantly masculine character of the votives, particularly the kraters, *kantharoi*, horse-rider figurines and the twenty fragmentary horses, which he thinks may have been ridden (accepted by Wright 1982, 194; Foley 1988, 144-145; Ekroth 1996; cf. de Polignac 1984, 131 n12; Antonaccio 1987, 240; 1994, 399; Morgan and Whitelaw 1990, 89). If J. Cook's interpretation is correct, the number of male riders (about forty-five examples) would almost equal that of female figurines (about sixty examples).

A suggestion by S. Marinatos (1953, 87-88) that the 'Agamemnoneion' was a shrine to a female deity, namely Hera, has been re-considered recently by both Antonaccio (1995, 151) and Hall (1995a, 602). To judge from the early votives (especially the bronze *phialai* and the wreaths), Hall strongly suspects that the shrine belonged to Hera.

APPENDIX A-14

STRABO 8.6.11

BLEGEN 1939, 410-444, esp. 410-411, 420, 423; ANTONACCIO 1992, 100; HALL [J.] 1995a, 577-613, esp. 601; STRØM 1995, 91.

About seven hundred metres north-west of the Heraion, at a place called Prosymna, there was a small shrine dedicated to Hera. It is identified with Hera from an archaic graffito to the goddess on a black glaze sherd (Blegen 1939, 412, 421, fig. 11; Lazzarini 1976, 252 no. 547) and from the remarkable similarity of the votives to the artifact assemblage of the nearby Heraion (Hall [J.] 1995a, 601; Strøm 1995, 91).

The votives included fragments of bronze, a piece of iron, many mesomphalic *phialai*, numerous pins, and fragments of various other metal offerings. Sherds were especially abundant, and there were many small votive vases of the unpainted Protocorinthian style (Blegen 1939, 411). Terracotta horse figurines from the terrace belong to the seated goddess and rider type, but the riders have been broken away (Blegen 1939, 423). Also found were loom-weights and wreaths.

Perseus at Mykenai

APPENDIX A-11

PAUSANIAS 2.18.1

Pausanias (2.18.1) mentions that by the side of the road from Mykenai to Argos there was on the left a hero shrine of Perseus. The neighbouring folk paid him honour. The inscription from Mykenai mentions Perseus in connection with the *hiaromnamonas* (IG IV 493, see Chapter I). The inscription might have come originally from a building associated with Perseus, perhaps an archaic fountain house (Paus. 2.16.6) or a *heroön* (Paus. 2.18.1).

Extraurban Sanctuaries on Mountain Tops

Apollo at Epidauros (Maleatas)

PAUSANIAS 2.27.7

APPENDIX A-28

KAVVADHIAS 1891; 1900a; PAPADIMITRIOU 1949, 361-383; EF 1950a, 304; 1950b, 315-316; 1952, 218-223; AUPERT 1976, 607; ORLANDHOS [K.] 1978, 98-105; LAMBRINOUDAKIS 1979, 29; 1980a, 111-121, 187-194; 1980b, 39-63; 1980c, 473-486; TOUCHAIS 1979, 550-568, esp. 599-561; 1988, 627; CATLING 1979, 18; TOMLINSON 1983, 92-94; PEPPA-PAPAIONNOU 1985; MYLONAS 1988, 92-96; FOLEY 1988, 147-148; BILLOT 1990, 95-139; HÄGG 1992a, 19.

An archaic predecessor of the classical temple to Apollo Maleatas was identified on the slopes of Mt. Kynortion, east of the Asklepieío sanctuary, and some eight kilometres inland from the harbour settlement at Palaiá Epídhavros. The site has not (yet) been properly published, but we know from an inscribed bronze plaque (c. 475-450 BCE) found in the fill predating the classical temple's construction that this temple was also dedicated to Apollo Pythios (see Chapter II: *SEG* 26.449, 30.393, 31.321, 38.318, 40.338). Among the finds from the rectangular *poros* Building E of the great altar dug by Kavvadhias were found also two rustic votive altars, inscribed *αρταμιτος | αγεμονας*, and *απολ[λωνος] | δειραδι[ωτα]* (Mylonas 1988, 96 fig. 115; Touchais 1988, 627; Catling 1989, 28). Nothing of this is now visible. The classical altar has been erected on top of the archaic one (Touchais 1979, 561).

About one hundred small *kotylai*, many alabasters and other miniature vases, especially Corinthian and Attic (EF 1950a, 304), rings, mirrors, two bronze wheels, pins, knives and swords, arrowheads, double-axes, gold leaves from wreaths, the left foot of an archaic bronze figurine, a small lead *kouros*, and a large number of terracotta figurines were recovered in a burnt deposit found to the north-east of the classical temple.

Artemis at Epidauros (Maleatas)

C-44

SEE ABOVE FOR BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX A-28

SEG 38.32, 41.310bis

MYLONAS 1988, 96 fig. 115; TOUCHAIS 1988, 627; CATLING 1989, 28; LAMBRINOUDHAKIS 1991, 60.

As was just mentioned, an altar dedicated to Artemis Hegemone was found at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas. Moreover, a fourth century inscription which describes the offerings to be made to Apollo refers to the other gods who live in the same sanctuary, particularly Lato his mother and Artemis his sister.

Artemis on Mt. Koryphon (Hyrnithion)

C-45

PAUSANIAS 2.28.2

APPENDIX A-30

FARAKLAS 1972, 11, figs. 14a to 17b; FOSSEY 1987, 76; FOLEY 1988, 181-182; BILLOT 1992, 44.

Faraklas notes the existence of an archaic sanctuary immediately south-west of hellenistic and Roman Hyrnithion, about 3.5 kilometres south of the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary at Epidauros. Although its date is far from certain, this was perhaps the sanctuary of Artemis Koryphaia ('Of the Peak') on Mt. Koryphon mentioned by Pausanias (2.28.2).

The reference by Pausanias to a boundary with Asine places the sanctuary to the south-west of the Asklepieion, which corresponds to the site found by Faraklas, but this information contradicts the implication from the order of the text that it lay between the Asklepieion and the town of Epidauros (Palaiá Epídhavros), that is, to the east of the former (Fossey 1987, 76).

Artemis (?) at Dhoúka(s)

C-46

PAUSANIAS 2.25.6

APPENDIX A-1

PROTONOTARIOU-DHEÏLAKI 1972a, 155-156; TOMLINSON 1972, 210-211; FOLEY 1988, 150, 178; DE POLIGNAC 1998a, 146.

In the north-west Argolid, south-east of the modern village of Dhoúka(s), at the top of the Tóuloupa peak, the Greek Archaeological Service found an archaic building, with a votive deposit inside it. Many bronze pins and pieces of bronze strips come from this votive deposit.

This building has been identified as the temple of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias (2.25.6) at Orneia. The problem is that most scholars seem to think that Orneia is at modern Káto Bélesi, renamed Lýkeia, several kilometres to the south-east of Dhoúka (see Fossey 1987, 82 for bibliography). If we accept this location, then the sanctuary at Dhoúka was not that of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias.

Artemis on Mt. Lykone (modern Megalovoúni)

C-47

PAUSANIAS 2.24.5-6

FROTHINGHAM 1888, 360; 1889, 101-102; ANONYMOUS 1888, 20; VOLLGRAFF 1907, 179-180; TOMLINSON 1972, 210-211; FOLEY 1988, 187.

Pausanias (2.24.5-6) mentions a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia ('Of the Steep') in Mt. Lykone, which he saw when going from Argos to Tegea. This mountain, known today as Mt. Megalovoúni or Piryiós, is southwest of Argos (in distinction to Mt. Megalovoúni to the north of Argos, see below). There, he saw white marble images of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, which they say were done by Polykleitos (late fifth century).

This is possibly the sanctuary excavated by Kophiniotis (Anonymous 1888, 20) in 1888-89 on Mt. Lykone (Frothingham 1888, 360; 1889, 101-102). The remains seem to date to the early classical period, but the cult may have been introduced here at an earlier date. The sanctuary was in use as late as the mid-fourth century.

PAUSANIAS 2.25.3

FOSSEY 1987, 78ff.; PRITCHETT 1980, 32 figs. 1, 4, pl. 3; WINTER [J.] and WINTER [F.] 1990, 256.

A sanctuary of Artemis was apparently situated on the top of Mt. Artemísion (Mt. Malevós), on the borders between Arkadia and the Argolid above Oinoe, on the road to Mantinea (Paus. 2.25.3). Mt. Artemísion obviously took its name from Artemis, and in antiquity was the name of the peak so called today, as well as of the whole ridge of which the peak forms the principal summit (Fossey 1987, 78, 81).

No ancient remains are now visible, but between Mt. Xerovoúni and Mt. Artemísion (Mt. Malevós), at about seventy-five metres north by north-west from the chapel of Profitis Ilías, a concentration of undiagonistic sherds and a wall of coarse blocks was noted (Pritchett 1980, 32 figs. 1, 4, pl. 3; Winter [J.] and Winter [F.] 1990, 256).

Artemis on Mt. Megalovoúni

MISTOS 1949, 73-77; FOSSEY 1987, 78ff.

An early hellenistic inscription identifies a small open-air site high on the west side of Mt. Megalovoúni at the shrine of Artemis Oraia. The sculptured heads discovered here apparently range in date from the sixth to the third centuries. A cache of terracottas was also apparently found, but no details were provided. The sculpture at least indicates that the sanctuary dates from the late archaic period.

Hera at Áyios Adhrianós (Katsíngri)

APPENDIX A-23

DAUX 1963a, 736-759; MEGAW 1963, 16; ALEXANDRI 1964, 525-530; DHEÏLAKI-PROTONOTARIOU 1965, 65-66; TOMLINSON 1972, 42; BALCER 1974, 141-149, esp. 149; FOLEY 1988, 150, 183; HALL [J.] 1995a, 578-613, esp. 597.

In the south part of the central Argive plain, about five and a half kilometres east of Tírintha and three kilometres east of Néa Tíryns, on a hill two and a half kilometres north-west of the Áyios Adhrianós, where the chapel of Profitis Ilías can be seen, are the remains of a small peak sanctuary dedicated to Hera. The discovery of this archaic temple seems to be connected to the settlement below (Dheïlaki-Protonotariou 1965, 65-66; Daux 1963a, 748), perhaps the ancient 'town' of Lessa mentioned by Pausanias (2.25.9-10; 2.25.26; Papakhatzis 1976, 189, 193-194). There Pausanias notes the presence of a temple of Athena, but this is probably not the temple at Áyios Adhrianós.

The votive material contained archaic sherds, including miniature *skyphoi*, figurines, pins, fibulae, and a small bronze *phiale*, but the material remains largely unpublished.

Nearby a small cave yielded a further deposit of ceramic and metal objects; the most important find was a lead *porpi*, some kind of belt attachment, carrying a scene with a female, who wears a long *khiton* and *polos*, and a male who clasps his cloak. The iconography has suggested to Alexandri (1964, 525-530) that the woman is Hera and the man is probably Zeus. Hall (1995a, 597) supports her theory, adding that the types of votive contained in the deposits are typical dedications to Hera.

Poseidon at Epidauros (Maleatas)

C-51

IG IV² 1.150

LAZZARINI 1976, 243 no. 478.

A fifth century stone altar or boundary stone was dedicated to Poseidon at the Maleatas sanctuary (IG IV² 1.150; Lazzarini 1976, 243 no. 478).

Zeus and Hera at Áyios Ilías

C-52

PAUSANIAS 2.25.10

APPENDIX A-25

RUPP 1974, 130-132; 1976, 261-268, esp. 264-265; LANGDON 1976, 107-108; FOLEY 1988, 150, 176.

On Mt. Árakhnaio, north-west of the sanctuary at Epidauros and north of Kazárma in the Argeia, relatively limited investigation appears to have located the altars of Zeus and Hera. It is believed that this is the site above Lessa mentioned by Pausanias (2.25.10): ‘when rain is needed they sacrifice to them here’.

Masonry foundations were discovered, together with sherd concentrations (mainly from open shapes), suggesting the use of the summit from the later eighth until at least the sixth century.

Zeus on Mt. Kokkýgion

C-53

PAUSANIAS 2.25.10

APPENDIX A-49

LANGDON 1976, 108; ZIMMERMANN MUNN 1985.

Surface reconnaissance at the Zeus sanctuary on Mt. Kokkýgion in the southern Argolid (Paus. 2.36.2) led to the discovery of an enclosure, as well as many open vessels of archaic to classical date (Langdon 1976, 108; Zimmermann Munn 1985).

Extraurban Sanctuaries at Boundaries

Apollo at Lefkákia

C-54

APPENDIX A-21

FRICKENHAUS and MÜLLER [W.] 1911, 21-28, esp. 28; EF 1955a, 231-246, esp. 24; VOLLGRAFF 1956, 33; CATLING 1985, 21; TOUCHAIS 1985, 772-789, esp. 778; FOLEY 1988, 184.

About six and a half kilometres east of Náfplio, in the modern village of Lefkákia, around the village square, the Greek Archaeological Service excavated a temple. This might be a temple of Apollo located at the boundary of Nauplia. No previous occupation at this site has been reported.

Apollo at Epidauros (Asklepieion)

C-55

IG IV 1169; IG IV² 1.142

APPENDIX A-28

PAUSANIAS 2.26.1; 2.27.7

KAVVADHIAS 1891, 37 no. 9; JEFFERY 1990, 180, 182 no. 11; BILLOT 1992, 77.

The oldest document of the worship of Apollo Pythaeus at Epidauros comes from the sanctuary of Asklipios, functioning around the middle of the sixth century (Paus. 2.26.1ff.; 2.27.7). The cult of Asklipios, however, soon overshadowed that of Apollo with a sanctuary that became famous throughout the Greek world in the classical period.

In the first quarter of the fifth century a bronze *lebes* dedicated to Apollo Pythios was found in Building E (IG IV 1169; IG IV² 1.142; Kavvadhias 1891, 37 no. 9; Jeffery 1990, 180, 182 no. 11). The text reads: του [α]πολλωνος ειμι του πυθιου. Notice that Apollo is here called Pythios, not Pytha(i)eus, an epithet that associates him directly to Delphi rather than to Argos (Billot 1992, 77).

Artemis at Epidauros (Asklepieion)

C-56

PAUSANIAS 2.27.5

APPENDIX A-28

IG IV² 1.195

KAVVADHIAS 1891, 18-19; 1900a, 186 no. 1; BURFORD 1966, 285-290; ROUX 1961, 202-222 figs. 43-50, pls. 53-57, 59-62; BRULOTTE 1994, 109-112.

Pausanias (2.27.5) mentions a temple of Artemis inside the grove of Asklepios. The temple was built at the end of the fourth century at the earliest, but there may have been a simple altar, where the later one stood. A late fifth century inscription to Artemis was found on a *stele* on the west part of the *Abaton* (Kavvadhias 1900a, 186 no. 1).

Artemis at the Heraion ?

C-57

APPENDIX A-13

IG IV 513

WHEELER 1894, 356 no. 7; BRULOTTE 1994, 108-109.

An archaic (?) inscription found at the Heraion mentions Artemis (A[*ετ*]αμ*ι*).

Artemis at Magoúla (near Kefalári)

C-58

PAUSANIAS 2.24.5 ?

APPENDIX A-8

VOLLGRAFF 1907, 139-184, esp. 179-180; TOMLINSON 1972, 210-211; TOUCHAIS 1985, 775; FOSSEY 1987, 81; FOLEY 1988, 150-151, 184.

About five kilometres south of Argos, at the side of the road to Mýloi where it crosses the Erasínos, near the roads to Hysiai and Lerna, Vollgraff (1907, 139-184, esp. 179-180) found the foundations of a small building, made of tuff with monolithic Doric columns. Apparently thousands of miniature pots and hundreds of figurines of the seventh and sixth centuries were found in a votive deposit situated a few metres away; none has been published. This small temple has been attributed to Artemis (perhaps the Artemis of Paus. 2.24.5 ?). It lies in a boundary area, at the side of the river, probably dividing Argos and Lerna.

Artemis at Oinoe (?)

C-59

APPENDIX A-2

Argos Mus. Inv.52

SEG 38.314

PAUSANIAS 2.25.3

HOMOLLE 1893, 199; TOMLINSON 1972, 8, 38, 210-211; PROTONOTARIOU-DHEÏLAKI 1974, 74-84, esp. 84; PAPAKHATZIS 1976, 185; FOSSEY 1987, 78-ff.; PIKOULAS 1988, 55-56; FOLEY 1988, 191-192; TOUCHAIS 1989, 596-623.

Two joining fragments of a limestone base to support a dedication to Artemis (αμυντις | *ho* Αγαίου | [*a*]νεδεκε | αρταμ*ι*) was found at Zevgolatio (?) near Merkoúri. The inscription is to Artemis from Amyntis and dates to around 550-500 BCE.

Pikoulas (1988) identifies the finding place as the ancient Argive town of Oinoe, which Pausanias (2.25.2) describes as being across the torrent called Kharadros (modern Xeriás), somewhere near the borders of Argos and Mantinea, thus dividing the Argolid and Arkadia. It is at in fact in the valley at Merkoúri that the Xeriás River ends, near the foot of Mt. Artemísion (Malevós) to the north and Mt. Kreion (Kteniás) to the south. Papakhatzis (1976, 185 n3), however, places Oinoe near the modern village of Mazi where Protonotariou-Dheïlaki (1974, 84) noted some archaic walls.

Excavations at ancient Elaious, about two kilometres south of modern Spiliotáki, revealed a large rectangular building that has been identified as the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Verdhelis 1966a, 121-122; Daux 1966a, 791-792). A large votive deposit dates from the sixth century and includes miniature pots and hundreds of terracotta figurines, an inscription of bronze from the second half of the fifth century, and a relief representing a goddess who could be Demeter. The area is strategic, for it guards the pass to Arkadia. It seems to be inhabited for the first time in the archaic period.

In the whole of the Argolid, there is no sanctuary richer and more impressive than the Heraion near Prosymna. This sanctuary commanded a good view of the surrounding plain. The remains visible today date to the late seventh or sixth century, except for the second temple and the South Stoa (see Chapter II).

There is no doubt about the identity of the goddess here. One example of Hera's name has been found inscribed on a rim of a large fifth century krater, found mixed up with a quantity of early pottery and figurines behind the retaining wall of the West Building (a *hestiatorion* of the mid-fifth century?). The inscription reads: [τας] *Ἡερας* εἰμι.

The finds from the Heraion are many and varied, including miniature *kalathoi*, *skyphoi*, *kotylai*, *kantharoi*, *aryballoi*, and *oinochoai*. Other common votives include figurines, the majority of which are seated females, bronze pins and fibulae, tripod cauldrons, long pins, spits, and a variety of other bronzes.

Almost 50% of all the archaic pottery comprised *hydriai* (Caskey 1952, 197; Foley 1988, 137). Waldstein (1902, 100f.) found hundreds of *hydria* in his excavations at the Heraion, and Caskey (1952, 175f., 197f.) reports a dump near the temple containing a deposit of about nine hundred miniature *hydriai* of the archaic period. That so many *hydriai* were dedicated at the Heraion in the seventh century seems unusual, and no parallels for this exists at any other sites in the Argolid. Foley (1988, 73) suggests that their popularity has to do with the cult itself, for every year Hera's cult statue had to be

bathed in a spring at Nauplia to restore her virginity, and the women employed in the sanctuary rituals were required to purify themselves in a stream on the way from Mykenai (Paus. 2.16.1; 2.17.1; see also Amandry 1952, 273, for alternative water sources: cisterns and baths with plastered floors in the North Stoa). The miniature *hydriai* found at the Heraion may therefore have been associated with such ceremonies (Guettel Cole 1988, 164), though one must also bear in mind that Hera was thought responsible for teaching Argives how to sow the land (Foley 1988, 135) and the association of *hydriai* with Hera might imply the recognition of the need for water in agriculture (see Foley 1988, 73, 137-138 for the drought hypothesis).

Extraurban Sanctuaries in Marshes

Artemis at Psiftí

C-62

PAUSANIAS 2.30.7-10; 2.32.10

APPENDIX A-55

Artemis Saronia was worshipped at the shallow and marshy sea called the Phoibaian lagoon (now lake Plivea in Alikí beach), near Troizen (Paus. 2.30.7-10). Welter (1941, 38-39; see also Foley 1988, 195) places the temple on the south coast of the gulf of Methana, also known as the sea of Psifaia, at Psiftí, where he noticed a foundation wall of *poros* blocks measuring thirty-two metres and a base apparently inscribed with a text that would support the identification of the building as a temple (no text nor reference to the inscription is provided). Perhaps the building (temple ?) dates back to the archaic period, because Faraklas (1972, 15) noticed surface finds of the archaic period here.

Extraurban Sanctuaries on the Sea

Athena at Lazarétto ?

C-63

APPENDIX A-60

FARAKLAS 1972, 15; FOLEY 1988, 185.

Athena Apatousia was perhaps worshipped at Lazarétto, in the eastern peninsula on the coast opposite the island of Póros, and about seven hundred metres south-east of modern Galatás. No surface finds have been reported, and the dates of occupation are uncertain.

Appendix D

Greek Texts

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Text 1. Homer, *Iliad* 6.168-169

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Text 2. Herodotos, *Histories* 8.135

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Text 3. Homer, *Odyssey* 21.390-391

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Text 4. Herodotos, *Histories* 5.58

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Text 5. Sacral law mentioning the *hiaromnamon*, inscribed on a series of stones covering the underground passages at Tiryns (*SEG* 22.269), c. 600-550 (see Figure 17)

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Text 6. Final clause of a law mentioning the *hiaromnamones*, on the crowning stone of a structure from the Perseia fountain house at Mykenai (*IG IV 493*; *SEG 11.300*), c. 525 (see Figure 18)

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**Text 7. Base for a statuette mentioning the four *hiaromnamones* at the Heraion (*SEG 16.244*), c. 460-450
(From Mastrokostas 1957, 24)**

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Text 8. Stone *stele* dedicated by the four *hiaromnamones* at the Heraion (Athens, EM 581; *IG IV 517*; *SEG 11.303*), c. 460-450 (see Figure 23)

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Text 9. The name of the fourth tribe, Hyrnathioi, and the ‘Twelve’ on a bronze plaque from Argos (*SEG* 41.283), c. 460-450

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Text 10. Stone *stele* with the name of the fourth Argive tribe, the Hyrnathoi, from Argos (*SEG* 41.283), c. 400 (see Figure 24)

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Text 11. Stone *stele*, reused in Roman times, mentioning the *hiaromnamones* at Argos (*SEG* 33.275), c. 450-424 (see Figure 25)

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Text 12. Stone *stele* bearing a list of nine *damiorgoi* from the Larisa at Argos (*IG* IV 614; *SEG* 11.336), c. 575-550 (see Figure 26)

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**Text 13. A group of six *damiorgoi* from the Larisa at Argos (*SEG* 11.314), c. 575-550
(From Buck 1955, 283 no. 83)**

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**Text 14. Bronze plaque bearing part of a sacral law and mentioning the *damiorgoi*
from the Heraion (*IG* IV 506; *SEG* 11.302), c. 575-550 (see Figure 27)**

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Text 15. Bronze plaque concerning the treasures of Athens and mentioning the *artynoi* at Argos or Halieis (*IG* IV 554), c. 480 (see Figure 28)

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Text 16. Bronze plaque concerning a proxeny for Gnosstas of Oinous, from Argos (*SEG* 13.239), c. 475 (see Figure 29)

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Text 17. Bronze plaque mentioning a certain Kallippos and his slaves or serfs from Epidauros (Epídhavros Mus.: *SEG* 26.449), c. early fifth century

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Text 18. Law from Selinous, c. mid-fifth century

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Text 19. Hesiod, *Op.* 405-406

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Text 20. Hesiod, *Op.* 689-693

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Text 21. Pausanias, 2.35.4-8

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Text 22. Pausanias, 2.20.8-10

Figures

Since it was impossible to illustrate all features and artifacts, only those that presented a type, some problem, or an especially interesting attribute have been drawn or reproduced photographically. All drawings are by the author, based on the sources quoted.

Note that figure illustrations are not to scale.

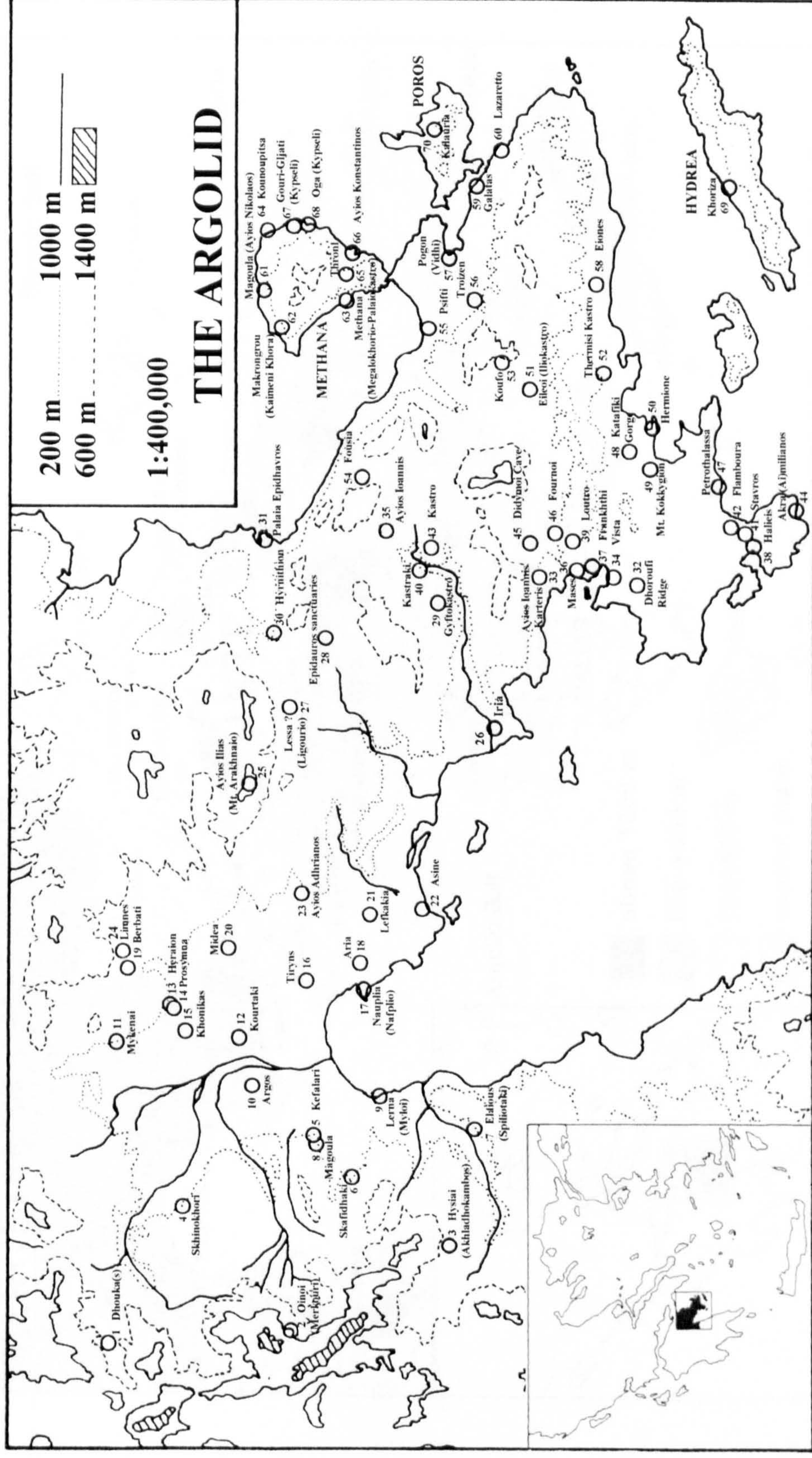


Figure 1. Map of the Argolid showing the approximate position of archaic sites
(After Foley 1988, 252 map 1)

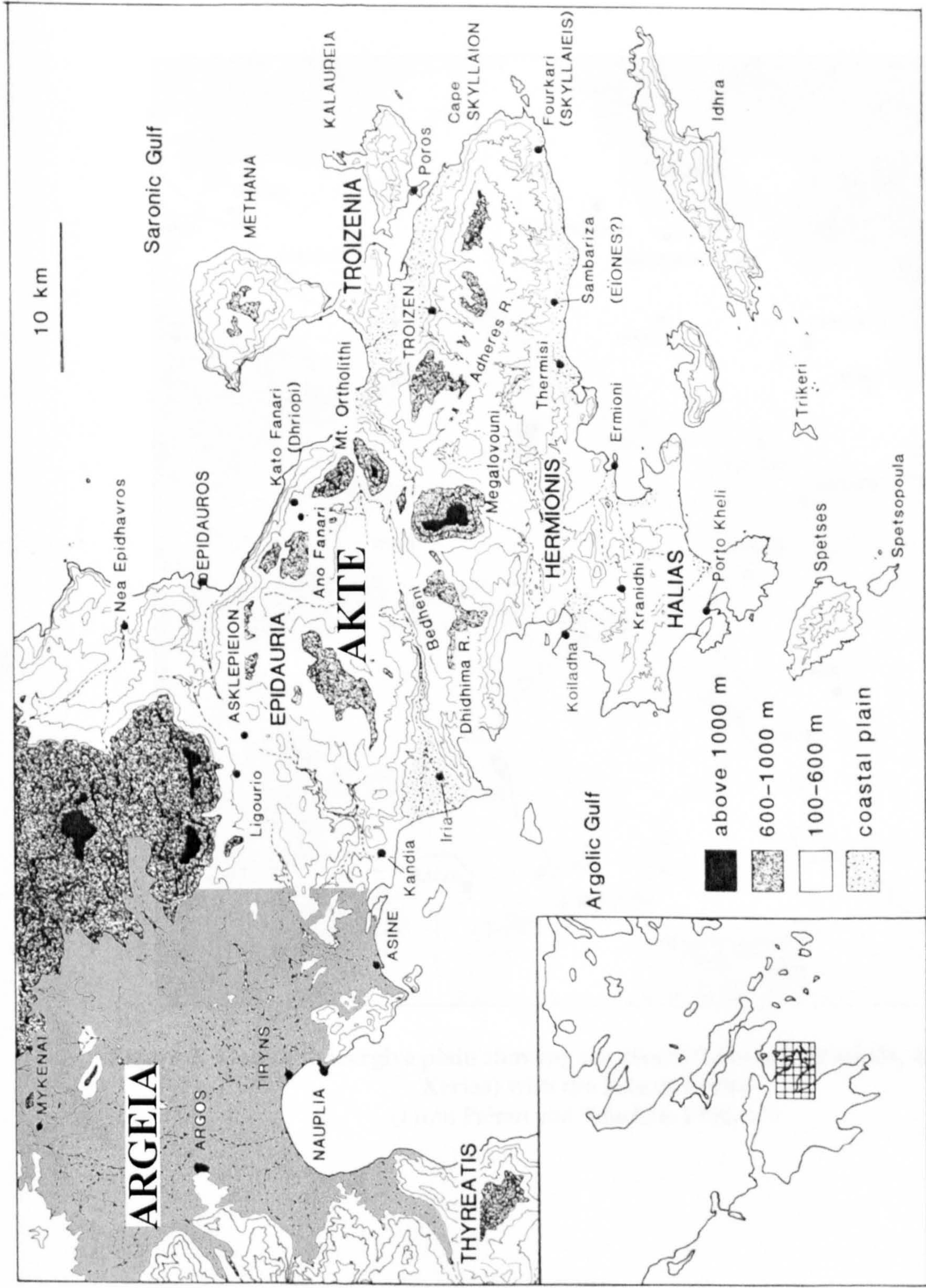


Figure 2. Map of the Argolid showing the Argeia and Akte
(After Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, 15 fig. 1.2)